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CELEBRATING THE IMMIGRANT

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AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT 1952 - 1982

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT STUDY NO. 10

DIVISION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES
NORTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL OFFICE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service

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(continued on inside back cover)

CELEBRATING THE IMMIGRANT

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT 1952 - 1982

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1985

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT STUDY NO. 10
DIVISION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES
NORTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL OFFICE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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INTRODUCTION

Two small islands located side by side in New York harbor contain the Statue of Liberty National Monument. On Liberty Island stands the colossal statue which the French people gave as a gift to the United States for its one hundredth birthday. Within the base of the statue is the American Museum of Immigration, containing exhibits depicting the course of immigration to this nation and the resulting cultural heterogeneity of its population. Nearby, lies Ellis Island, the site of the first federal immigration station, through which some twelve million persons entered the country between 1892 and 1954 and at which others were detained and eventually deported.

The Statue of Liberty National Monument is unique in that it does not commemorate a particular historic event or personage, but rather celebrates a set of ideas. Originally conceived as a joint memorial to the historic friendship and alliance between France and the United States, forged during the American Revolution, the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World became first and foremost the symbol of the human ideals of liberty and freedom shared by the two sister republics. The statue stood for a second idea as well, although in the period from its erection in 1886 to 1952, this second theme received less attention: namely, the role of the monument as "Mother of Exiles," beacon of hope, opportunity and a new life to millions of immigrants who passed by her on their entry into the United States. This view of the statue's meaning, plus a realization that these "exiles" enriched the culture and contributed to the physical development of America, caught the imagination of both Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, the creator of the statue, and Emma Lazarus, author of the poem "The New Colossus," the lines of which, cast on a bronze tablet, are housed inside the base of the statue.

With the addition to the Statue of Liberty National Monument of the American Museum of Immigration, conceived in 1952 and opened in 1972, and of Ellis Island in 1965, the association of the monument with immigration and our multi-ethnic heritage became deeper and more widely recognized.

Where, then, does the story of this unique national monument begin? Edouard de Laboulaye, French jurist, admirer of American republicanism, and author of a history of the United States, during a dinner party at his estate near Versailles, in 1865, made a proposal to his guests. Why not have the French people present a monument to the Americans to commemorate the centennial of their nation's independence in 1876? One of those present at the dinner and impressed with the idea was the Alsatian sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi. No immediate action came from Laboulaye's proposal, however, and the young sculptor became interested in another project.

Bartholdi had traveled to Egypt in 1856 to see the pyramids and the Sphinx. Their grand scale awed him and confirmed his own predilection for statues of colossal size. He returned to the land of the Nile in 1869, to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. Bartholdi hoped to convince the then ruler of Egypt, Ismail Pasha, to commission the Alsatian to create a monument in the form of a giant peasant woman holding aloft a torch, its theme to be "Progress" or "Egypt Carrying the Light to Asia." This statue would be twice the size of the Sphinx and stand beside the entrance to the canal, serving the double purpose of monument and lighthouse. The pasha rejected the idea, and Bartholdi returned to France to rekindle the American proposal.

The sculptor went to see Laboulaye, who was enthusiastic, brought others into the discussions, and suggested Bartholdi visit the United States to present the project to American friends and officials. In June 1871, Bartholdi arrived in New York. He spoke to President Ulysses S. Grant, who showed no interest, Republican Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who promised support, members of the New York French-American Society and others. The sculptor unfolded before them his vision of a colossal statue in the classical tradition to be known as the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. That same year Bedloe's Island (the name of Liberty Island until 1956) was mentioned as probably the most appropriate site on which to erect such a monument.[1]

Up to that point Bedloe's Island had served varied purposes. In 1758 the City of New York acquired it from its private owner to place a quarantine station there. After the Revolution the State of New York took over operation of the facility and, also in cooperation with the federal government, built fortifications on the island as part of the city's harbor defenses. In 1800 title to the property transferred to the federal govern-

ment, which abandoned the quarantine operation and concentrated on defense. By 1811 it had completed there a new eleven-point, star-shaped structure known as Fort Wood. The fort served as a garrison, and, during the Civil War, as an ordnance depot.[2]

Meanwhile, back in France, Laboulaye became chairman of the Union Franco-Americaine, which launched a fund-raising campaign to finance designing and building the statue. Eventually it collected some $400,000 from French cities, private citizens and French corporations doing business with the United States. Bartholdi, starting with a draft sketch in 1871, set to work creating the statue he had envisioned.

In 1877 the United States Congress by joint resolution accepted the French gift and authorized the President to designate a home for it upon either Governors or Bedloe's Island. William M. Evarts, a prominent New York Republican politician, chaired the American Committee that took on the task of raising funds for designing and building the statue's pedestal. During its ten-year existence, the committee grew to a membership of 400 that included such prominent people as the poet and newspaper editor William Cullen Bryant; the first president of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Taylor Johnson; and industrialist Samul D. Babcock. By 1885, the committee had raised $180,000, most of it through donations from wealthy businessmen, such as John Jacob Astor, Cyrus W. Field, and Andrew Carnegie.[3]

Work in France, however, progressed more rapidly than in America. By 1881 the statue was erected in Paris and ready for shipment to the United States. The American Committee, at that point, had not collected sufficient money to permit construction of the pedestal to commence. Its appeal to Congress for federal funds was killed in the House, and the $180,000 that it had raised by 1885 was still not enough to complete the base. All looked hopeless until Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York World, launched a public subscription campaign that took in an additional $100,000 from more than 120,000 individual donors.[4]

In April 1883 work on the pedestal began, and by 1886 the base was ready for the colossal statue that stood 151 feet high and weighed 450,000 pounds. Shipped in pieces from France to the United States, the reassembled figure was placed around a framework designed by the French engineer Gustave Eiffel. On October 28 President Grover Cleveland dedicated and unveiled the

magnificent French gift, proclaiming, "We will not forget that Liberty has made here her home, nor shall her chosen altar be neglected."[5]

In the years that followed, the federal government's administration of the property sometimes belied Cleveland's ringing promise. The Lighthouse Board of the Treasury Department first took jurisdiction over the statue since some considered it an aid to navigation. In 1901 Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage, however, stated that the monument had no value as a navigational light and was a financial burden on his department. He, therefore, recommended transferring its care to the War Department, which had continued to maintain Fort Wood whose walls surrounded the pedestal. The new arrangement was approved by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1901.[6]

Although President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the statue a national monument in 1924, its administration by the army continued. Not until 1933 did President Franklin D. Roosevelt sign an executive order transferring the Statue of Liberty to the Department of the Interior, to be administered by the National Park Service. In 1937 the Park Service's jurisdiction was expanded to include all of Bedloe's Island. With the help of labor supplied through the Works Progress Administration, the NPS began to redevelop the area for use as a park. In succeeding years it demolished all of the military buildings outside of old Fort Wood and erected administration, concessions and maintenance buildings and residences for six employees.[7]

The early history of Ellis, the other island comprising today's Statue of Liberty National Monument, parallels that of Bedloe's Island. Like Bedloe's, Ellis Island, named after its last private owner, was first fortified by the State of New York in the 1790s to defend the harbor against a possible British or French attack. In 1808 New York State acquired the island through condemnation proceedings from Samuel Ellis's heirs and turned it over to the federal government for the sum of $10,000. By 1812 it had erected Fort Gibson on the site, making it, along with Fort Wood on Bedloe's Island, Castle William and Fort Columbus on Governor's Island, and the West Battery (later Castle Clinton) at the southern tip of Manhattan, New York harbor's chief defense. An interstate agreement between New York and New Jersey in 1834 declared Bedloe's and Ellis Islands part of New York although both lay on the Jersey side of the main ship channel. Ellis Island continued to house an arsenal and powder magazine until 1890.[8]

During the 19th century thousands of Europeans would see the two islands from ships entering New York harbor, but between 1855 and 1890 immigrants were admitted by New York State at a station in Castle Garden, as Castle Clinton was then called. Then, in 1890, the federal government assumed control over admission of immigrants. It made a study of New York harbor to determine the best location for a new station since Castle Garden was clearly no longer large enough to handle the swelling tide of newcomers.

The army wished to retain its headquarters on Governors Island; New York public opinion objected to the use of Bedloe's Island on which the Statue of Liberty had been dedicated four years earlier. By process of elimination Congress chose Ellis Island, ordered removal of the powder magazine, and appropriated $75,000 to convert it into an immigration reception facility.[9]

By January 1, 1892, the station was ready. The island had been enlarged; a ferry boat basin was constructed, along with a number of buildings made of pine. During the next five years approximately 1.5 million persons were examined and passed through the area. But in 1897, fire broke out, destroying the wooden structures and irreplaceable state and federal immigration records. Fortunately, no one was killed or injured.

The federal government awarded a contract in 1898 to the New York firm of Boring and Tilton to design and construct new, fireproof, brick and masonry structures. Two man-made strips of land were connected by a narrow corridor to the original island, now enlarged with landfill. The main or original island housed the massive immigration building, which opened in 1900, as well as the adjacent kitchen and laundry facility and powerhouse, completed in 1901, and other structures built subsequently. Island two, separated from the first by a ferry slip, contained the general hospital buildings, which were opened in 1902, and the third area was used for contagious disease wards, completed in 1909 and opened in 1911.[10]

The main immigration building was finished just in time for the greatest flood of newcomers. Between 1900 and 1914 an average of about 1,000,000 persons a year entered the United States, up to three-quarters of them cleared through Ellis Island. The facilities and inspectors were strained to the limit to keep up with the flow. Additional floors, wings and whole new buildings were constructed to provide essential space (Fig. 1).

The outbreak of World War I in Europe in the summer of 1914 curtailed immigration sharply, with the numbers passing through the island gateway falling by 90 percent. Soon, however, the facilities on Ellis were put to supplemental uses. In 1917, when the United States entered the war against the Central Powers, some 2,200 German sailors, from ships seized in our harbors, and other enemy aliens, were interned there. The following year a large hospital for wounded and injured American servicemen opened. In 1919-1920, during the "great red scare," the government rounded up hundreds of aliens it suspected of being radicals, held them on Ellis and subsequently deported many without a hearing.

The island also suffered war-related damage, when on July 30, 1916, German saboteurs blew up munitions awaiting shipment to Russia on the nearby Black Tom Wharf. Glass shattered, fires broke out, and sections of roof caved in, requiring considerable repair and renovation.[11]

With the return of peace, the number of immigrants again climbed rapidly, and the facilities at Ellis returned to their earlier purpose. Approximately 600,000 newcomers entered the country through this portal in 1921. Restrictive legislation passed during that year and even more importantly the National Origins Quota Act of 1924 brought to an end the period of mass immigration to the United States. The latter not only cut the number who could enter annually to less than 200,000, giving preference to those from northern and western Europe, but also provided that prospective immigrants would be inspected at American consular offices abroad, where visas would be issued to those found acceptable.

From that point on, the Ellis Island station functioned primarily as a detention center for aliens who were about to be deported because of illegal entry or other violations of immigration rules. During World War II the Coast Guard shared the island with a hospital for returning wounded and injured servicemen and detained enemy aliens.

The Coast Guard left in 1946, and Ellis continued to hold those awaiting deportation. After passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950, many of the individuals were persons excluded for suspected radical beliefs or past membership in the Communist party (or less frequently, in Fascist organizations). The Immigration and Naturalization Service, however, was finding operation of the huge, aging facility for this purpose costly and inefficient, especially since the numbers detained were

declining. In November 1954, the INS transferred its offices to Manhattan, freed on parole almost all of the remaining aliens and notified the General Services Administration that it had no further need of the property.[12]

* * * * * *

The chapters which follow concentrate on the history of the Statue of Liberty National Monument from 1952 to 1982, since the earlier years have been ably covered by Walter Hugins in his Statue of Liberty National Monument: Its Origins, Development and Administration, which was written for the NPS in 1958. The present study describes how the monument has come to symbolize an expanding set of ideas, how the symbolism has produced responses in various groups of people ranging from celebrations to physical attacks upon the statue, and the manner in which the National Park Service has administered, maintained and planned for its famed property. This work also relates the story of the conception, financing, and development of the American Museum of Immigration, as well as covering the history of Ellis Island from the time when the INS abandoned it, through government attempts to dispose of it, to its incorporation in the monument. The study proceeds to discuss the NPS's problems in administering and preserving the run-down facility. Finally, this account summarizes the efforts now underway by the NPS, in cooperation with the private sector, to repair, restore, and develop the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island in time for their respective centennials in 1986 and 1992.

NOTES

[1]French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, "Statue of Liberty Chronology," 1981; Paul Weinbaum, Statue of Liberty: Heritage of America (Las Vegas, Nevada, 1979), pp. 6-10; Pete Hamill, "Mother of Exiles," Sunday News Magazine, February 19, 1984.

[2]U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Analysis of Alternatives (Environmental Assessment) for the General Management Plan, December 1980. STLI NM, NY/NJ, p. 11; U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Statue of Liberty National Monument: Its Origin, Development and Administration, by Walter Hugins, 1958, pp. 3-4.

[3]"Statue of Liberty Chronology"; Hugins, p. 9; Weinbaum, Statue of Liberty, pp. 11-12.

[4]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, p. 11; Hugins, pp. 5-13; Weinbaum, pp. 12-13; Hamill, "Mother of Exiles,

[5]"Statue of Liberty Chronology"; Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, p. 11; Hugins, p. 6.

[6]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, p. 11; Hugins, pp. 16-17, 21.

[7]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980; pp. 11-12; "Statue of Liberty Chronology"; Hugins, pp. 30-35, 41-43, 53-54.

[8]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980; p. 12; "Ellis Island," p. 1, D22, Construction Programs, dtd. 1974 File, Drawer 1, Administration Building, Liberty Island.

[9]"Ellis Island," p. 1; Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, p. 12.

[10]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, pp. 12-13; "Ellis Island," pp. 1-2; Ari Hoogenboom, "An Outline of Ellis Island (1890-1954)," June 20, 1974, pp. 1-2, Duplicates File, Artifact Room.

[11]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, p. 13; "Ellis Island," p. 2; Hoogenboom, pp. 2-4. The Black Tom Wharf explosion also caused damage to the Statue of Liberty.

[12]Analysis of Alternatives, December 1980, pp. 16-17; "Ellis Island," p. 2; Hoogenboom, pp. 5-7.

CHAPTER 1

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY: MONUMENT TO AN EXPANDING SET OF IDEALS

Josephine Nugent, a high school senior from Bridgeport, Connecticut, one day in April 1983, in the company of her classmates, made her first visit to the Statue of Liberty. She had come to the United States from South Vietnam seven years previously. When a reporter asked what she thought of the monument, she replied, "It's one of the most beautiful symbols of the United States. It symbolizes freedom, liberty and everything the United States stands for." In those two sentences this recent-American schoolgirl, part of the newest immigrant influx to our shores, both summed up and symbolized the ideas that have been accumulating around the famous landmark for nearly one hundred years.[1]

When Edouard de Laboulaye and Frederic Auguste Bartholdi first thought of having the people of France present to the people of the United States a monument on the one hundredth anniversary of America's independence, their main idea was to commemorate the friendship between the two peoples. They wanted it to recall the aid which Americans had received from France in the colonies' struggle for freedom. They wished the statue to proclaim further that the ideal of liberty, shared by the sister republics, was a meaningful one for the rest of mankind as well.

Bartholdi attempted to make this evident in the name he gave his statue, "Liberty Enlightening the World," and in its design. The statue's upraised arm held high the symbolic torch of freedom; at her feet lay the broken chain of tyranny. On her left arm rested a tablet inscribed with the date of the American Declaration of Independence, reminding everyone of its bold proclamation about the "inalienable rights" of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[2]

To Emma Lazarus, a poet who was asked to contribute some inspirational lines for the pedestal fund drive, the

statue took on a still wider significance. Shortly before composing her sonnet, "The New Colossus," Lazarus had been touched by the sight of Jewish refugees from Czarist Russia arriving in the United States. When she sat down to write, she saw the statue not only as a commanding figure enlightening the world with its torch of liberty, but as the "Mother of Exiles," the woman who welcomed the oppressed to our shores and offered them freedom, dignity, and opportunity:

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door![3]

Emma Lazarus implied in those lines that not only would the immigrants seeking refuge benefit from the asylum offered, but that the United States would also be enriched by receiving the world's "huddled masses yearning to breathe free." That was a concept apparently shared by Bartholdi, the statue's sculptor. In an 1890 interview he granted to the Paris correspondent of the New York World, Bartholdi lamented that Americans neither appreciated the uniqueness of their people nor his statue's potential for symbolizing it. He stated, "In Liberty Island...[he insisted on calling it that at a time when everyone else still referred to it as Bedloe's Island] the Americans have a spot unique in the world for the home of a temple to the glorification of their wonderful nationality and the idealization of the strong poetry of their race...in the cohesion into one mighty mass of elements so widely diverse."[4]

Bartholdi was correct in observing that most Americans initially failed to associate the statue with immigration and an appreciation of our multi-ethnic heritage. That would take time. Emma Lazarus' poem was hardly known in the 1880s. When a bronze tablet inscribed with "The New Colossus" was placed inside the statue's entrance in 1903, the ceremony received little attention. Not until the the 1930s and 40s, when ironically the United States almost sealed the "golden door," did Lazarus' sonnet become widely admired and quoted. From that point on, however, the significance of the statue that the poet and its sculptor had seen began to grow in importance.[5]

By 1952 even a congressman who had sponsored several restrictionist immigration bills appreciated the Mother of Exiles theme symbolized by the statue. Representative Francis Walter (Democrat-Pennsylvania), in May of that

year, introduced a resolution in the House authorizing and directing the President of the United States to proclaim each October 28 as Statue of Liberty Day because the monument was dedicated on that day and because it has since become "a welcoming beacon to the oppressed and persecuted of all lands and faiths" as well as "a symbol of American liberty and freedom...."[6]

Congress, in 1956, took further steps to emphasize the statue's association with the ideals of liberty and opportunity and with the immigrants attracted to our shores by their promise. The legislators, in a joint resolution, gave their approval to the plans of a group of private citizens to finance and help the Park Service develop a museum of immigration at the base of the statue, and they authorized changing the name of the home of the monument from Bedloe's to Liberty Island. The joint resolution stated, "...the Statue of Liberty is to the world the symbol of the dreams and aspirations which have drawn so many millions of immigrants to America" and "the majestic meaning of the Statue of Liberty is to be made more brilliant by the establishment at its foot of the American Museum of Immigration."[7]

This "majestic meaning" of the statue was so widely recognized that President Lyndon B. Johnson chose Liberty Island as the setting for his signing of the 1965 immigration bill, finally abolishing the discriminatory national origins quota system. He could have signed the measure quietly at the White House, but he saw the drama and appropriateness of a ceremony using the statue as backdrop. On the fine Sunday afternoon of October 3, accompanied by Lady Bird Johnson, Vice President and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey, the Governors of New Jersey and New York, assorted other political leaders, some two hundred reporters, and thousands of curious tourists, Johnson arrived on Liberty Island. Speaking beneath the famed landmark, he said:

> This bill...repairs a deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice. It corrects a cruel and enduring wrong in the conduct of the American nation....[F]or over four decades the immigration policy of the United States has been twisted and distorted by the harsh injustice of the national origins quota system. Under that system the ability of new immigrants to come to America depended on the country of their birth. Today, with my signature, this system is abolished. Now under the monument which has welcomed so many, the American nation returns to the finest of its

> traditions....[T]he lamp of this grand old lady is brighter today--and the golden door she guards gleams more brilliantly....[8]

Many others besides President Johnson have seen the Statue of Liberty as the fitting place to hold patriotic ceremonies and/or promote the ideals for which she stands. The persons and organizations involved have been quite varied and, of course, have interpreted the meaning of liberty and freedom differently. On the one hand, the rather conservative Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars stages an annual Statue of Liberty Anniversary Exercise on October 28, complete with speeches on the meaning of the monument and of America. The more liberal Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, on the other hand, every July also celebrates America's ideals before the famous lady.[9] In April 1961, the office of the Secretary of the Interior granted permission to the New York City Young Socialist League to place ten pickets around the monument to protest American intervention in Cuba, which they saw as a contradiction to our proclaimed love of liberty. Several hundred New Yorkers, including Mayor Abraham Beame and Governor Hugh Carey, gathered before the statue on March 3, 1975, also with the permission of the Department of the Interior, to protest the denial of liberty by the Soviet Union to its Jews.[10]

The desire of assorted citizens to identify their cause or interpretation of freedom with the statue in New York's harbor even led one member of the "hippie" generation to make the following offer in 1968:

> ...I have designed and created a giant, colorful string of beads customized for the Statue of Liberty. They are lightweight, waterproof and made to go around her neck and extend to her waist.
>
> I would like very much to donate them to her to wear so that she might reflect the fashion of the forward-looking people who are changing the attitudes in America today.

A spokesman for the National Park Service, presumably managing to keep a straight face, wrote in reply, "Thank you for your kind offer....We are sorry we must decline.... It is felt that the Statue of Liberty needs no further decorations...."[11]

If the symbolism of the statue has made her a rallying point for people wanting to express themselves dramatically on some aspect of liberty, she has also become, since the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 60s and the anti-war protests of the 1960s and 70s, a favorite target for take-over, occupation or even destruction by groups protesting what they perceive as denials of what she represents.

In the summer of 1964 a young black library clerk from New York named Robert Steele Collier visited Fidel Castro's Cuba. Inspired by the racial equality he saw there, he returned to the city to organize the Black Liberation Front. Early in 1965 he and three other members of the group decided to make a forceful statement about discrimination against blacks in the United States by blowing up the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, and the Washington Monument. After scouting the statue, the conspirators concluded that it would be easy to break the locked door that led into the forty-two-foot-long torch-bearing arm. There they would plant sticks of dynamite and in one blast, as they put it, render the "damned old bitch" headless and torchless. They contacted a woman who was a member of a Quebec separatist society. She agreed to bring the necessary explosives from Montreal to New York. What the plotters did not know was that one of them was a New York City police undercover agent, assigned to infiltrate the militant front. This agent kept the local police, FBI and Royal Canadian Mounted Police alerted to the plans, and on February 16, 1965, FBI agents and New York City police arrested the would-be bombers and confiscated their dynamite. In June they were found guilty, the men sentenced to prison terms of ten years, the Canadian woman to a term of five. These sentences were later reduced to five years for the men and a suspended sentence and deportation for the woman.[12]

Tim MacCormick of New Jersey and fourteen other members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, on the afternoon of December 26, 1971, arrived on Liberty Island by the Circle Line boat along with other tourists. But, when the last return ship to Manhattan sailed that evening, the veterans were not aboard. Instead, just before closing time, they hid among the exhibit partitions, building materials, and storage closets which were lying about the monument's base while work was being finished on the American Museum of Immigration. When NPS personnel made their 7:30 evening check-up of the statue, they found that the veterans had seized control of the landmark and barricaded the three ground floor entrances. The men

inside refused to speak to or admit any Park Service people, but on the door they posted a typewritten statement addressed to President Richard M. Nixon:

> Each Vietnam veteran who has barricaded himself within this international symbol of liberty has for many years rationalized his attitude to war....We can no longer tolerate the war in Southeast Asia....Mr. Nixon, you set the date [for leaving Vietnam], we'll evacuate.[13]

On December 27, twenty-one National Park police flew to Liberty Island from Washington where they were joined by New York City police and Coast Guardsmen. These security forces stood by while the government attempted to reach a peaceful compromise with the occupiers. They were told that they would be permitted to picket and protest on the island if they would simply vacate the statue, allowing it to reopen to visitors. The veterans rejected the offer, flew the United States flag upside down from the statue's crown, and waited. Law enforcement officers also waited. During that day thousands of disappointed tourists were told at the Battery that they could not go out to the statue. Congresswoman Bella Abzug (Democrat-New York) sent a telephone message of support to the demonstrators.

Meanwhile, United States Attorney Whitney North Seymour, Jr., went before District Court Judge Lawrence Pierce to request an injunction directing the veterans to open the doors, leave the statue except during regular visiting hours, and permit Park Service personnel and tourists to enter. On the morning of December 28 Judge Pierce issued a temporary restraining order, instructing the protestors to leave the statue "forthwith." Two hours later, after conferring with their lawyers, the veterans removed the barricades from the entrances and emerged with "clenched fists raised." They had cleaned up their debris and caused no significant damage to the property. The monument was reopened to the public, with the first ferry-load of visitors arriving at 2:15 that afternoon.

Tim MacCormick issued a statement to the press explaining why they had picked this particular target:

> The reason we chose the Statue of Liberty is that since we were children, the statue has been analogous in our minds with freedom and an America we love.

> Then we went to fight a war in the name of freedom. We saw that freedom is a selective expression allowed only to those who are white and maintain the status quo.
>
> Until this symbol again takes on the meaning it was intended to have, we must continue our demonstrations....[14]

In April 1974, twenty members of a radical student organization, the Attica Brigade, copied the example of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Barricading themselves inside the statue, they protested social injustice in the United States and called for the ouster of President Nixon. They finally left the monument when a force of twenty National Park Police walked toward the barred doors with the intention of breaking in. No one was injured, nor was there any property damage. At a later news conference a spokesman for the protestors proclaimed that the statue is "a facade put up to make people believe that the ideals of democracy actually exist."[15]

Two years after the Attica Brigade sit-in, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War were back. On June 6, 1976, they occupied the statue, and on the following day, when they refused to comply with a court order to leave, NPS police arrested and removed them. Again, the statue escaped with minimal damage.[16]

On February 15, 1977, dissident Iranians staged the first of several take-overs of the statue.[17] Protesting the lack of freedom in their country under the Shah, they held the lady in the harbor for five hours. When an injunction was issued, the Iranians left voluntarily. The government filed no charges against the demonstrators, who agreed to pay $310 for minor damage they had caused to the monument.[18]

In October of the same year, it was the turn of Puerto Rican nationalists. Twenty-nine members of the New York Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners seized control of the statue and draped a Puerto Rican flag from its crown. The protestors demanded independence for their Caribbean island, an end to discrimination against Puerto Ricans in the United States, and freedom for all of their compatriots in prison. The demonstrators ignored a court injunction to vacate and after eight and one-half hours, the National Park Police forced their way into the statue to arrest them. No one was injured in the confrontation, but about $4,000 worth

of property damage occurred. The protestors subsequently paid fines of $100 each for their parts in the takeover.[19]

Every year, along with and in addition to the seizures of the site, Park Service personnel on Liberty Island have received a number of bomb threats to the statue. There were, for instance, four such warnings in 1976 and nine in 1977. While these scares have almost always proved to be idle threats, the NPS has felt it could not ignore them. On receipt of a bomb threat park employees would immediately evacuate all visitors and personnel from the monument and gently but firmly "herd" them to the boat docking area. The superintendent or other park employees would notify the FBI and harbor police as well as city authorities, although the New York City police department bomb squad would not go out to Liberty Island unless a suspicious object was spotted.[20]

On one occasion bombers struck without warning. At 7:30 on the evening of June 3, 1980, a time-delay device blew up in the Statue of Liberty Story Room, within the base of the monument, destroying a large share of its exhibits and a portion of the ceiling. Fortunately, no one was hurt since the explosives went off after closing time, but some $18,000 worth of damage was sustained. FBI investigators believed the perpetrators were Croatian terrorists seeking independence for Croatia from Yugoslavia, though no arrests were made.

The NPS responded to the bombing with increased security measures. For the remainder of that summer two additional Park police officers and two bomb-sniffing dogs, as well as a mechanical bomb detector, were stationed at Liberty Island. The public-address and the intrusion systems were also upgraded. In the following year the owners of two New Jersey dog kennels donated to the STLI National Monument a golden retriever specially trained to detect explosives. Since its acquisition, this dog has accompanied park rangers on their periodic searches.[21]

As of 1982 the area of the statue that was bombed still awaited rehabilitation. Personnel from the park and the NPS's Harpers Ferry Center (where museum exhibits are designed and created) wrestled with the tough problems of how to arrange displays in such a way as not to interfere with the large crowds that congregate in that space to await the elevator that carries them to the top of the pedestal, and how to avoid creating small openings, crevices and crannies in which some future terrorist could conceal explosive devices.[22]

The overwhelming majority of those who arrived on Liberty Island, of course, had no wish to harm or seize the statue, nor to demonstrate on behalf of any cause or movement. Most visitors came to the famous landmark because of the beauty and awesome size of the statue, the impressive symbolism surrounding it, the challenge of climbing its narrow stairways, the fine views that the island and statue afford of the Manhattan skyline and the surrounding harbor, and the pleasant ferry trip out and back. In fact, a visit to the statue has come to be regarded as one of the must-see tourist sights in New York, along with the Empire State Building and the United Nations. A trend toward steadily increasing visitation has proceeded ever since the monument came under the jurisdiction of the NPS. From the 1920s through the 1950s, the numbers making the trip to see the lady in the harbor yearly rose from approximately 300,000 to over 750,000. By the mid-1960s, annual visits exceeded 1 million, and by the early 1980s, surpassed 1.5 million.[23]

As the statue has become ever more popular with tourists, so it has also attracted much attention from the media: periodicals, radio, film, and television. Producers often want to use the statue as an incidental setting. They have requested and usually received permission to bring camera crews and equipment to the island for shooting on location. In April 1963, for instance, New York/New Jersey public television station WNET/Channel 13 had video crews present, working on one of their educational programs; while in June 1967, a commercial station filmed background scenes for a then-popular TV comedy series called "That Girl," starring Marlo Thomas. On September 29, 1975, Wolper Productions filmed scenes for a movie, with Shirley MacLaine, on the promenade leading to the statue. Alistair Cooke's British Broadcasting Corporation production, "America," ends with a shot of Cooke on the statue's torch balcony, this being one of the few times a filmmaker was ever allowed into the torch, which can only be reached by narrow, hazardous stairs.

In September 1973, Paramount Pictures requested the right to film scenes on Ellis Island for the motion picture "Godfather II." After permission was granted, the producers also asked the NPS to close off a portion of Liberty Island to visitors for a short period. The cameramen wanted to shoot footage of the statue as seen from Ellis Island, without having people in 1970s dress intruding on what in the film was a scene purportedly occurring in the early 20th century. Despite some

initial reluctance, the NPS agreed to accommodate the filmmakers. Another problem, however, became apparent: the new terrace beneath the Statue of Liberty, created by the American Museum of Immigration, would also have to be blocked out since it did not exist at the time depicted in the movie. Ultimately, Paramount Pictures decided the obstacles presented by the run-down condition of Ellis Island and the changes at Liberty Island were too great to handle, and no actual on-site shots were included in the film.[24]

Other representatives of the media have wished to make the statue itself the focus of attention. In October 1956, WCBS-TV televised the Bill Leonard show, "Eye on New York," live from the statue in connection with the 70th anniversary ceremony for the monument. When, in August 1958, the City of New York was preparing a public relations movie for distribution throughout the United States and abroad, it sent camera crews to the island, where they filmed the scenes that opened and closed the short. During April and May 1965, staff writers and photographers from the National Geographic were on Liberty Island gathering material for an article about the lady in the harbor, being written by former director of the NPS Conrad Wirth, which was to appear in the October 1965 issue of the magazine. Also, in April 1965, NPS personnel at the statue assisted the Educational Broadcasting Corporation in preparing a program about the famous landmark that was to be part of a series entitled "America's Historic Shrines."[25]

Faced with this considerable media interest in the statue and in other NPS-administered properties, the Park Service developed policies regarding filming and recording. The NPS was aware of its responsibility as a government agency with respect to the exercise of freedom of speech and press through film, radio, and television, as well as through the printed and spoken word. It took the position, therefore, that "amateur photographers and bona fide newsreel and news television photographers and soundmen" were not required to obtain a filming permit or other permission to carry on their activities at any national park, monument or historic site. Commercial motion picture projects, involving the on-location use of casts, crews and equipment, however, were to be handled differently. The production company wishing to use the NPS facility had to apply to the superintendent of the area for a permit and obtain the approval of both the park and the regional directors. The content of the film was irrelevant to the granting of a permit; the only grounds for denial were potential damage to the natural

or cultural resources at the site, unreasonable curtailment of or interference with the right of the public to enjoy the area during filming activities, or undue burden upon the supervising staff in the affected region. The superintendent might also require the motion picture or television company to post a bond "in an amount equal to the estimated cost to the Government of clean-up or restoration operations that would occur in the event the permittee failed to perform."[26]

Rapidly increasing visitation to the Statue of Liberty and to other national parks, monuments and historic sites, as well as heightened media interest, produced more than just a policy on filming. The 1950s through 1970s saw changes in NPS administrative organization, many new areas added to the national park system, augmented interpretative and security activities, and the undertaking of a major program of building, improvement and rehabilitation of facilities, much of it coming under what the NPS called "MISSION 66."

As new historic sites and monuments were acquired in the New York City area, the superintendent of the Statue of Liberty National Monument was put in charge of these as well as the lady in the harbor. By 1952, for example, Newell Foster, then superintendent, also administered Federal Hall and Castle Clinton. His responsibilities had grown by 1964 to encompass seven sites: Statue of Liberty, Federal Hall, Castle Clinton, the General Grant and Hamilton Grange National Memorials, and the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace and Sagamore Hill National Historic Sites. In January of that year the Park Service formally recognized these seven properties as an administrative unit known as the New York City Group. When Foster retired in August 1964, the service named John A. Townsley as superintendent of the NYC Group, and he in turn appointed management assistants to administer and report on the statue and the other component parts of the group. Lester McClanahan became management assistant for the Statue of Liberty.

Through the 1960s the number of sites comprising the group continued to grow. Ellis Island became a part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument and of the NYC Group in 1965. In 1967, the Fire Island National Seashore was added and the name of the group changed to the Fire Island National Seashore and New York City NPS Group. At the beginning of 1967, Henry G. Schmidt replaced Townsley as superintendent of the Fire Island National Seashore and NYC NPS Group. Three assistant superintendents served under him: one for Fire Island, one for the

Manhattan sites, and one for the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. Thus, Lester McClanahan's title changed from management assistant to assistant superintendent of the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

By the early 1970s, however, this expanding administrative body was proving too big and cumbersome, which led to its split. Fire Island became a separate administrative entity, with the reduced New York City Group assuming the name for a time of New York District Office. Reverting to the name New York City Group, the unit, under Superintendent William Hendrickson, in 1974-75, once again reshuffled positions internally. There were now three unit managers responsible for and reporting to the group superintendent: one for the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, one for the Manhattan sites, and one for Sagamore Hill (Fig. 2).

With the stepped-up activity involved in opening Ellis Island to the public, the nation's bicentennial celebration, and the operation of the American Museum of Immigration, as well as other developments, the New York City Group again appeared to be unwieldy. In August 1976, the group was dissolved; the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island became an independent unit with its own superintendent, who reported without intermediaries to the director of the North Atlantic Regional Office.

While these administrative changes were occurring on the local scene, reshuffling was also taking place within the Park Service nationally. Thus, until the early 1960s the Statue of Liberty and other members of the NYC NPS Group were included in Region V of the NPS and reported to its director. Region V was redesignated the Northeast Regional Office in the early 1960s. In 1974, the North Atlantic Region was established, with the former Northeast Regional area divided between it and the also newly created Mid-Atlantic Region. The Statue of Liberty National Monument was included in the North Atlantic Region.[27]

Regardless of the changing administrative arrangements for the statue, the pressure of steadily mounting visitation necessitated that the Park Service rehabilitate, improve and expand the facilities on Liberty Island. During fiscal years 1947 through 1957, Congress appropriated and approved about $1.3 million for this purpose. NPS used the money to remove the dilapidated East Pier, install walks, and improve the West Pier (Fig. 3). The statue received a new heating system and some interior structural repairs. New utility lines were laid

between the mainland and the island, while the concession building (containing a restaurant) and the administrative center were remodeled.

These modest improvements did not always impress the public. One New York businessman, who wanted to see much more done with the landmark, wrote to Senator Jacob Javits (Republican-New York) in 1958, "The Statue of Liberty badly needs a 'face-lifting.' Thousands of people go over there on every good day and all that greets them is a pair of iron stairs, a sleazy-looking island and a very bad restaurant."[28]

Conrad L. Wirth, director of NPS at the time, was also not satisfied that the park system was adequately serving the growing volume of visitors. In 1955, he formulated "MISSION 66," a ten-year conservation program aimed at replacing "outmoded and inadequate facilities with physical improvements adequate for the expected demands." The program was to be completed by 1966, the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the National Park Service. In addition to physical repairs and improvements in the parks, monuments, and historic sites, the project also called for increased staffing in the fields of protection and visitor services. To carry out this plan, Wirth called upon Congress to appropriate some $800 million.[29]

For the Statue of Liberty, the principal MISSION 66 project was construction and development of the American Museum of Immigration in its base (which will be discussed in the following chapters). Besides that undertaking, improvements included enlargement of the West Pier and construction of a shelter for visitors waiting for the boat, paving the existing concrete plaza and walkways with ornamental bluestone, and erecting markers and signs on the perimeter walk surrounding the statue to call attention to the history of Liberty and Ellis Islands and other important sites visible from the path. All but completion of the museum were accomplished by the end of 1966. Thereafter, routine maintenance, such as repairs to the seawall, periodic rehabilitation of the docks and painting of the statue's interior continued.[30]

As the country and NPS prepared to celebrate the nation's 200th anniversary, activity quickened once again at Liberty Island. On May 24, 1976, the park staff opened their major bicentennial exhibition, "The Lady in the Harbor." This consisted of photographs, drawings, paintings, and artifacts on display in the statue's base, relating the story of Frederic Auguste Bartholdi and the

creation of the colossal monument. By the time the show closed on November 8, some 400,000 persons had viewed it. Beginning at dusk on July 4, the NPS, in cooperation with Macy's Department Store and Walt Disney World, launched a fireworks display from both Liberty and Ellis Islands, which lit up the night sky and silhouetted the statue for millions of onlookers.[31]

As one of its bicentennial projects, STLI National Monument staff proposed to upgrade the system for illuminating the landmark. The statue had first been lighted in 1916. In 1931, a new system was installed, and in 1945, it was upgraded with sixteen mercury-vapor lamps added to the floodlighting system and six vapor lamps placed in the torch. But with the passage of time and the advent of brighter, energy-efficient lamps, the system had become obsolete. Alfred V. Colabella, a consulting engineer for the NPS, became supervisor for the proposed lighting project. He contacted the Syracuse-based Crouse-Hinds Company, an electrical firm, which had provided lighting systems for the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials and the Washington Monument. The company sent experts to present specifications and sample floodlighting equipment to test various illuminating concepts. NPS requests for money for other bicentennial projects, unfortunately, led the Washington office to cut the lighting plan out of the budget. When the Crouse-Hinds Company learned of this, the firm offered to donate the new lamps as a gift. The details were spelled out in a memorandum of understanding between the Department of the Interior and the company, drawn up in May 1976 by Denis P. Galvin, acting director of the North Atlantic Region.

On July 3, 1976, the new lamps were switched on for the first time. They threw four times as much light on the statue as the earlier system, while using 33 percent less energy. Inside the torch, high-pressure sodium lamps, rich in yellow, simulated a flame. Within the crown, mercury lamps provided a blue-green effect. Metal halide lamps bathed the remainder of the statue in white light, while lamps on the pedestal contained a blend of yellow sodium and white halide to reveal the warm color of the granite masonry. In the late 1970s, however, to further conserve energy, there was a cutback in this illumination.[32]

By the late 1970s, then, when the lighting system was fully utilized, the lady in the harbor was beautifully illuminated, the grounds surrounding her were well landscaped, and the promenades leading to her and encir-

cling the island were attractively paved and bore informative markers. But new, more serious problems had developed. One of these was severe congestion within the monument. Park personnel have observed that about 50 percent of the people arriving on Liberty Island wish to climb to the statue's crown. The capacity of the statue for persons climbing to the crown is approximately 300 to 375 per hour, which represents only about 30 percent of the number of visitors to Liberty Island on an average summer day. As a result, individuals often have to wait in line for thirty minutes or more to use the elevator at the base that carries them to the sixth floor. Then, they have to form another line that proceeds slowly from the sixth-floor landing toward the foot of the double stairway that leads to the crown. Each of these stairways is only wide enough for single-file, one-way ascent or descent. The rate of movement up and down is controlled by the slowest climber and by how long the average visitor stays in the observation area in the crown. On many days, the whole procedure may take several hours, while the interior of the statue, packed with people, becomes intolerably warm.

Park personnel worried that another problem might be developing, as well. For almost one hundred years the statue has been exposed to the corrosive salt air of the harbor, rain, snow, freezing cold and summer heat. Had the copper skin, the underlying structure and the connectors between the two been dangerously weakened or damaged? The answer to that question could only be determined by thorough engineering inspection and study.[33]

At the beginning of the 1980s, the NPS was seeking ways to improve access to the crown, and architects and engineers had started technical studies of the monument's condition. These activities and the individuals and organizations involved in them will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this book, "Preparing for the Centennials of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island."

NOTES

[1]New York Times, April 9, 1983.

[2]Speech of John A. Krout, vice president and provost, Columbia University, at Annual Statue of Liberty Anniversary Exercises, October 28, 1959, p. 2, Duplicates File, Artifact Room; Mission 66 for Statue of Liberty National Monument, pp. 1-3, A9815, Mission 66 STLI NM File, Bayonne Records Center of the National Archives.

[3]Memorandum to Regional Director, Region 5, from Thomas M. Pitkin, supervising park historian, STLI NM, October 16, 1959, AMI Museum Exhibit Activities, 1959, 60, 61 File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room; Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus."

[4]New York World, as quoted in Memorandum to Regional Director, Region 5, from Thomas Pitkin, October 16, 1959.

[5]U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Statue of Liberty National Monument: Its Origins, Development and Administration, by Walter Hugins, 1958, pp. 75-76.

[6]H.J. Res. 447, 82nd Cong., 2nd Sess., May 12, 1952.

[7]S.J. Res. 114, 84th Cong., 2nd Sess., July 2, 1956. Signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower August 3, 1956.

[8]Jersey Journal, October 4, 1965; Pete Hamill, "Miss Liberty's Day in the Sun," New York Post, October 4, 1965; Washington Post, December 25, 1965.

[9]The FBI, always worried about the presumed threat to national security of what it saw as left-wing, radical groups in the 1950s and 60s, regularly sent its agents to attend the annual ceremonies of the Emma Lazarus Federation to take note of who attended. See N. H. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, STLI NM, each July for 1950s and July 1962.

[10]N. H. Foster, Supt's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1961; L. Garcia-Curbelo, Unit Manager, Monthly Highlights, March 1975.

[11]Joye Forgaard to Supt., STLI NM, June 24, 1968, Supt. Henry G. Schmidt, Fire Island and NYC NPS Grp., August 1, 1968, Museum and Exhibit Activities Planning Coop. Agreement, AMI 1968 File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room.

[12]Sally Hammond, "They Take Miss Liberty Seriously," New York Post, December 29, 1971; Time, February 26, 1965, pp. 22-23; J. A. Townsley, supt., NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, June 1965; L. McClanahan, acting supt., NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, November 1965.

[13]Memo to Director, NY District, from James F. Batman, supt., STLI NM, January 18, 1972; Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., "Operation Peace on Earth: An Open Letter to President Nixon," W34, Vietnam Veterans Against the War File, Storage Area, Liberty Island.

[14]Memo to Director, NY Dist., from J. F. Batman, January 18, 1972; Long Island Press, December 28, 1971; New York Times, December 28, 1971; New York Post, December 28, 1971; New York Daily News, December 29, 1971; New York Times, December 29, 1971.

[15]Newsday, April 20, 1974.

[16]David L. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, STLI NM, 1976.

[17]Iranians occupied the statue two more times. The November 1979 take-over coincided with Iran's seizure of hostages at the U. S. Embassy in Teheran in response to the admission of the deposed Shah to the United States for medical treatment. See D. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, 1979.

[18]D. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, 1977.

[19]St. Louis Globe Democrat, October 26, 1977; D. Moffitt, Supt's. Annual Report, 1977.

[20]D. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, 1976, 1977; U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Management Report, STLI NM, October 1975, Statue of Liberty Archives, Vertical File, Office of AMI Curator.

[21]D. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, 1980; "Exhibits Destroyed by Bomb at STLI NM," June 3, 1980, Acting Chief, NARO, Duplicates File, Artifact Room; Memo from Regional Director, NARO, to Deputy Director, NPS, Attn. Ann Bowman, June 26, 1980, A-2623 (002), Duplicates File; U.S. Department of Interior, NPS, "News Release," November 6, 1981, Duplicates File.

[22]Trip Report of Staff Curator, NARO, to Regional Director, NARO, October 23, 1980, Duplicates File.

[23]"Statue of Liberty Annual Visitation Figures," Adm. Building, Liberty Island. For exact yearly attendance figures from 1952 through 1982 see appendix of this book.

[24]N. H. Foster, Supt's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1963; Henry G. Schmidt, Supt. Fire Island and NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, June 1967; Luis Garcia-Curbelo, unit manager, STLI NM, Bi-Weekly Highlights, September 21-30, 1975; Ronald Colby, Paramount Pictures, to James F. Batman, supt., STLI NM, September 14, 1973, Ellis Island: Filming and Televising Of File, Drawer 2, Adm. Building, Liberty Island; Written comments of Paul Weinbaum, former curator of American Museum of Immigration, to author, April 4, 1984.

[25]Foster, Supt's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1956, and August 1958; L. F. McClanahan, acting supt. of NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, April and May 1965.

[26]Memo from Gary Everhardt, director NPS, to WASO and Field Directorate, June 13, 1975 and Memo from Denis P. Galvin, assoc. regional director, Park System Management, to Supts., North Atlantic Region, July 22, 1975, Duplicates File, Artifact Room.

[27]Management Appraisal Survey, 1963, A6423, Bayonne Records Center; Draft for Master Plan of STLI NM, July 1964, Planning Statue of Liberty File, Drawer 1, Artifact Room; Lawrence J. Zollar, Acting Supt., NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report; January 1967; Memo from William H. Henderickson, supt. NY Grp. to Regional Director, July 9, 1975, Duplicates File; D. L. Moffitt, supt. STLI NM, Supt's Annual Report, 1976, Drawer 1, Adm. Building. For a listing of the superintendents, unit managers, assistant superintendents, and management assistants of the Statue of Liberty National Monument and their dates of office, between 1952 and 1982, see the appendix of this book.

[28]Under Secretary of Interior Hatfield Chilson to Senator Jacob K. Javits, June 5, 1958, and Leonard Dreyfuss to Jacob K. Javits, May 8, 1958, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1958 File, Storage Area, Liberty Island.

[29]U. S. Department of the Interior, NPS, "Questions and Answers on MISSION 66," A-9815, Conservation and Preservation of Areas for Public Enjoyment File, Bayonne Records Center.

[30]MISSION 66 for the Statue of Liberty NM, A9815, MISSION 66 STLI NM File, Bayonne Records Center; Minnie C. Stein, acting supt., to Lillie G. Patterson, November 27, 1961, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities, 1959-63 File, Storage Area; J. A. Townsley, supt. NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, July 1965 and June 1966; Henry G. Schmidt, Supt. Fire Island and NYC NPS Grp., Monthly Narrative Report, March 1967; D. L. Moffitt, Supt's Annual Report, 1977, 78, 80.

[31]D. L. Moffitt, Supt's. Annual Reports, 1976; U. S. Dept. of Interior, NPS, News Release, June 20, 1976, Duplicates File.

[32]News Bureau, Grey & Davis, Inc., NY, Press Release, June 23, 1976, Colabella-Lighting STLI, Gray-blue folder, Storage Area; Hugins, p. 62; Written comments of Paul Weinbaum to author, April 4, 1984.

[33]U. S. Dept. of the Interior, NPS, Analysis of Alternatives (Environment Assessment) for the General Management Plan, December 1980, STLI NM, NY/NJ, p. 57; U. S. Dept. of the Interior, NPS, General Management Plan, September 1982, STLI NM, NY/NJ, p. 35.

CHAPTER 2

A PROJECT IS PROPOSED AND FINANCED

The American Museum of Immigration originated out of the attempt by Robert Moses, head of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, to destroy Castle Clinton. When Moses announced his intention to demolish the historic fort to make way for a Brooklyn-Battery Bridge, he ran into determined opposition. The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, incorporated in 1895 and numbering among its members a goodly sprinkling of New York's old, upper-class elite, spearheaded the drive to save Castle Clinton. In the end, the intervention of two presidents was required to preserve the fort: FDR stopped the bridge and Eisenhower declared the fort a national monument.[1]

In 1951, William H. Baldwin, one of the trustees of the Preservation Society, proposed an imaginative new use for the site. He suggested housing a museum in the fort, which would depict the story of the millions of immigrants who had flocked to the United States in search of liberty and opportunity. The location seemed highly appropriate since Castle Garden, as it was then named, served as a processing station through which some seven million persons had entered the country from 1855 to 1890.

Baldwin, along with other members of the Preservation Society, was also concerned about the cold war with Communism that loomed large in the political rhetoric of the 1950s. An immigration museum stressing the theme of unity out of diversity "could renew our faith and strengthen America's role in the worldwide struggle for men's minds and aspirations."[2]

Baldwin won the backing of other trustees and officers of the Preservation Society, including its president, Alexander Hamilton, the great-great grandson of America's first secretary of the treasury. This group approached the National Park Service with their idea. A series of meetings followed to discuss the proposal, at which NPS

was represented by Dr. Francis S. Ronalds, superintendent of Morristown National Historic Park; Newell Foster, superintendent of the Statue of Liberty; and Regional Director Ronald F. Lee.

These NPS staff members argued against development of an immigration museum at Castle Clinton on the grounds that such an installation would interfere with restoration of the site as an historic fort; in addition, they pointed out that the shape and size of the building made it unsuitable for exhibits of any magnitude. The group suggested locating such a museum at the Statue of Liberty.

Ronalds, Foster, and Lee claimed that the base of the statue had never been properly completed. According to the original plans of architect Richard M. Hunt, the monumental figure of Liberty was to rest on a stepped terrace, bounded by the walls of star-shaped Fort Wood. (Actually, Hunt prepared several designs for the pedestal, and the American Committee for the Statue of Liberty, in the 1880s, chose another Hunt plan, calling for a smaller base that did not fill the entire fort area.) Ronalds, Foster, and Lee believed lack of money had forced the Committee to settle for the less attractive design, and the NPS had never been able to remedy the situation due to its limited funds. Consequently, the intervening space between the fort walls and the statue's pedestal had been and remained filled with a mound of earth on which some grass was planted.

The NPS officials reasoned that placing an immigration museum in the base of the statue would serve a double purpose. The area under the existing pedestal and under the excavated earth mound, bounded by the fort walls, would provide an ample and fitting home for the museum with at least two floors for exhibits. "The foot of our great symbol of the American Ideal was the most appropriate place," noted their report, "for presenting the fruits of that ideal." At the same time, building the museum in that space would make it possible to complete the superior, stepped-terrace design from among Hunt's original plans.

Finally, in a meeting at Castle Clinton in April 1952, Lee, Ronalds, Foster, and NPS historians James Holland and Ned Burns, along with Baldwin, Walter Binger, Gardner Osborn and others from the Preservation Society, decided unanimously that "Castle Clinton was not physically adapted to the plan but that the Statue of Liberty offered a much more exciting locale for such an Immigration Museum...."[3]

For a time, the Preservation Society continued as the chief sponsor of the museum project, entering into a contract

with Baldwin and Mermey (William Baldwin's public relations firm) to publicize the undertaking so that financial backers could be attracted. To broaden the appeal, Baldwin and other officers of the Preservation Society formed a National Committee for the American Museum of Immigration in March 1953.

A delegation of the committee, headed by industrialist Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, called upon President Eisenhower at the White House on the morning of August 10, 1954.[4] After outlining their plan to him and explaining that they had the warm encouragement of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, they received the President's hearty endorsement:

> This is a nation of nations. Our forefathers came here from all the countries of the world....United as one people we have created new freedom, and new opportunity for all. There is no story like it in history, and the idea of telling it at the foot of the Statue of Liberty is a splendid one.[5]

Additional backing for the project came from Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island and Representative Brook Hays who introduced a Joint Resolution in Congress to change the name of the Statue's home from Bedloe's to Liberty Island. This should be accomplished, the resolution proclaimed, because the meaning of the monument was "to be made more billiant by the establishment, at its foot, of the American Museum of Immigration as the gift of individual Americans to the American people for all future generations." Congress finally passed and Eisenhower signed the measure in the summer of 1956.[6]

Encouraged by the support they received in Washington and favorable publicity in the press, the national committee of the AMI, chaired by retired Major General Ulysses S. Grant, III (grandson of the eighteenth President of the United States), decided to incorporate as a non-profit, educational organization. The American Museum of Immigration, Inc., was chartered by the State of New York on January 28, 1955, for the purpose of constructing and developing a museum at the base of the Statue of Liberty in cooperation with the National Park Service. Further, the corporation was entitled to solicit and hold funds from the public for their project.[7] The new group took over from the Preservation Society all monies and obligations of the museum undertaking, and negotiated a revised contract with Baldwin and Mermey, appointing the firm public relations counsel for the AMI at a retainer of $3,000 per month, plus expenses.[8]

Meanwhile, Congress laid the legal groundwork for cooperation with this and other private groups by passing, in August 1955, the New York City National Shrines Advisory Board Act (69 Stat. 632). This legislation instructed the secretary of the interior to appoint a board of citizens "to render advice" on the rehabilitation and the preservation of historic properties in the New York area (Federal Hall, Castle Clinton, and the Statue of Liberty) and authorized him "to accept donations of funds" for the purpose.[9]

Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and the AMI, Inc., signed a cooperative agreement on October 7, 1955, which more precisely stated the terms of the partnership. It provided that the AMI would "conduct a national campaign to raise funds for the cost of the design and construction" of the museum and for an endowment fund for its future use. The NPS and Department of the Interior would plan, design, build, and administer the museum with "the advice and counsel of the AMI." Much of the consultation would occur at periodic meetings of a Joint Development Committee. That body first met in Washington, D.C., on May 14, 1956, at which time it was decided that its membership should include the secretary of the interior, the director, and other designated personnel of the NPS, selected officers of the AMI, and three public members, one of whom should be president of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. The trustees of the AMI also created an Historians Committee, chaired by Dr. John A. Krout of Columbia University; among its members were such respected scholars as Oscar Handlin of Harvard, Theodore Blegen of the University of Minnesota, and Carl Wittke of Case Western Reserve University. The committee defined as its role advising the Joint Development Committee on the themes and content of the museum exhibits. However, the "final decision with respect to specific displays" rested with the NPS.[10]

Even before the AMI, Inc., and the National Park Service signed their cooperative agreement, the backers of the museum began to organize their fundraising campaign. In April 1955, the AMI opened its national headquarters at 270 Park Avenue in New York in space donated by business executive William Zeckendorf. The professional staff it hired proceeded to implement the preliminary operations plan, drafted by Baldwin and Mermey.[11]

The plan called for initially soliciting large donations as seed money to attract further funds. Chairman of the AMI Executive Committee du Pont contributed

$50,000 and lent another $50,000 to underwrite administrative expenses. The other trustees pledged similar or lesser amounts. During 1955-56, such business and labor organizations as Baker and Co., Inc., of New Jersey, Circle Line-Statue of Liberty Ferry, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and the Sidney Hillman Foundation agreed to become group sponsors, each donating between $5,000 and $7,500.[12]

Simultaneously, national headquarters attempted to organize campaign committees in twenty key cities which contained the bulk of the nation's population. These included Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Baldwin, Grant, and other AMI leaders traveled to these cities to persuade prominent local citizens to head the groups. Among the chairmen they recruited were steel executive Benjamin F. Fairless in Pittsburgh, Major General L. J. Sverdrup in St. Louis, department store magnate Cyril Magnin in San Francisco, and motion picture executive Samuel G. Engel in Los Angeles. National headquarters aided these committees by supplying them with promotional literature and, in several instances, hired local professional fund-raisers to work with them.

Finally, the AMI contacted various national and ethnic organizations to obtain both their endorsement for the museum and promises that they would raise money from their chapters all over the country. Early successes in this field came when the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars voted to collect $50,000 from its members; B'nai Brith, Catholic War Veterans, and the Lithuanian-American Council, among others, also agreed to conduct drives within their groups.[13]

Meanwhile, both national headquarters and some of the AMI community committees sought to popularize the project with as much media coverage as possible. On December 9, 1955, du Pont appeared on Edward R. Murrow's "Person to Person" show on CBS television to discuss the planned museum and appeal for contributions. A short film made by 20th Century Fox, entitled "Lady of the Golden Door," informed a large audience about the project in 1956 when it played at the Roxy Theater in New York and many other movie houses. Du Pont and United Steel Workers President David J. McDonald (co-chairman of the national public appeal) were interviewed on Ed Sullivan's CBS program on October 21, 1956. In June 1955 and in 1956 the AMI staged National Unity gatherings at the Statue of Liberty to attract further publicity. The 1956 celebration featured movie stars such as Celeste Holm, a

speech by David Sarnoff of RCA, and a tree planting ceremony with representatives of thirty-seven ethnic groups, many in their traditional costumes. The Chicago committee even ran a "Goddess of Liberty" beauty contest to select the girl who most nearly typified the ideals of freedom and beauty symbolized by the statue. The winner would receive a free trip to Paris, a modeling course, a "wardrobe fit for a goddess" and a movie screen-test.[14]

Unfortunately, the hoopla and other efforts did not produce impressive financial results. By September 1956, only 34 individuals had contributed $2,500 or more to the museum; the AMI had hoped for at least 200 such founders before initiating the formal national appeal. Only five business corporations had donated $5,000 or more, not the target number of 100. The foundations which commonly supported cultural and arts development had offered nothing, and most of the community committees were costing more to maintain than they were producing. As of November 1955, national headquarters had sunk almost $18,000 into the Chicago area and some $6,500 into Cleveland, with no cash return. The most important metropolitan committee, New York, was barely functioning because no one would volunteer to take the chairmanship. On the eve of what was supposed to be the climax and final stage of the campaign, the AMI had a balance sheet that showed a deficit of approximately $117,000.[15]

Nonetheless, the organization pushed ahead bravely, announcing that between October 28, 1956, and Thanksgiving Day it would appeal to the American people for $5,000,000 to develop the museum. AMI kicked off Operation Unity, as they dubbed the drive, with a celebration on Liberty Island commemorating the 70th birthday of the statue's dedication. A twenty-one-gun salute from Fort Jay on Governors Island preceded an address by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton and the lighting of a symbolic cardboard cake with the appropriate number of candles.[16]

Operation Unity received many small donations, including some from school children as far away as the Marianas Islands. Labor support also grew, with $5,000 contributions from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Textile Workers Union, and several others. As Thanksgiving approached, however, it was obvious that the organization was not going to achieve its $5,000,000 goal. As of November 14, 1956, AMI had barely $50,000 over its expenses. To complicate the situation, national headquarters received notice that the building it occupied

would be torn down by mid-December. Still, Baldwin believed that given more time the drive would gather momentum. He therefore recommeded to the Board of Trustees that Operation Unity be extended until at least March 31, 1957. Zeckendorf offered new office space on 42nd Street, and so the Board decided to press on.[17]

Despite the renewed efforts, giving did not increase significantly and administrative costs relentlessly absorbed most of the funds. In an attempt to reorganize and refocus Operation Unity, AMI terminated all paying contracts with William Baldwin, who thereafter continued as vice chairman of the national committee on a volunteer basis. To supervise its staff, the AMI hired D. Kenenth Rose, former vice president of John Price Jones, professional fund-raisers. Early in April, Rose and the Executive Committee wrote to each member of the Board of Trustees, asking him or her to personally solicit funds from five to twenty corporate, individual or foundation prospects. Rose and the Executive Committee also tried to recruit more businessmen with "good connections" to sit on the Board of Trustees. Neither of these efforts proved successful. Many of the trustees resented being asked to act as individual fund-raisers, and only one donation materialized. Rose, additionally, wrote to Spyros Skouras, an AMI trustee and president of 20th Century Fox, requesting that he obtain contributions from movie stars.

All seemed to no avail. By the target deadline March 31, 1957, AMI accounts showed receipts (including pledges) since January 1955 of $882,823, and expenditures of $643,689. In other words, the museum fund netted only $239,137, indicating that administrative overhead had consumed nearly 73 percent of the contributions. Word from the field only heightened the gloom. The chairman of the Cleveland committee, for example, reported there were no more big gifts to be raised in his city: "Cleveland must be written off for the moment."[18]

With growing desperation, the AMI leaders looked to the federal government for assistance. As Rose put it, they had to convince the Eisenhower Administration of the "...importance of a successful AMI campaign to America's prestige in the cold war...." Hoping it would boost collections in the West, Grant invited Vice President Richard M. Nixon to serve as honorary chairman of the Southern California Citizens Committee for AMI. In May 1957, Nixon consented to do so. On May 9, Grant, du Pont, and Hamilton met with Under Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson and told him of their financial

situation. They implored Chilson to use the influence of the department and the entire Eisenhower Administration to talk some distinguished industrialist into chairing the still leaderless New York committee and to recruit another prominent executive to head a new AMI National Corporations Committee aimed at obtaining sizable grants from big business. The Under Secretary sympathized with them and promised administration backing. Grant went so far as to write to Eisenhower, asking him to become honorary chairman of Operation Unity. This, however, the President declined on the ground that it was his policy not to head any private group.[19]

Even while the AMI Board members sought this help from the Administration, they realized Operation Unity could not be salvaged. At its May 28, 1957, meeting, the Executive Committee voted to terminate the public appeal as of June 30 "...in order not to spend any more of the contributed monies on administrative expenses." Kenneth Rose tendered his resignation. Plans were made to furlough almost all the remaining staff and to dispose of the office furniture.

By the spring of 1957, du Pont, Grant, Hamilton and the others had concluded that to keep faith with those who had sent donations and to actually build and develop a museum, they would have to explore additional means of financing besides the free will gifts of the American people. On April 2, Grant wrote to Ronald Lee, then chief of the Division of Interpretation of the NPS, asking the following questions. First, under the 1955 New York City National Shrines Advisory Board Act, did the federal government have the authority to match the AMI's privately donated funds with money appropriated by Congress? If so, would the Service be willing to do that in order to complete the museum? Second, could the NPS find tax dollars to finish the pedestal of the statue, allowing contributions of the AMI to go solely for preparation of the interior for the museum and the design and contruction of its exhibits?

Two weeks later, NPS Director Conrad Wirth answered Grant's queries. The solicitor of the Department of Interior had discovered that the 1955 law provided only for federal matching funds for purposes of "rehabilitation" and "preservation" of Federal Hall, Castle Clinton and the Statue of Liberty. In the solicitor's opinion the museum was a development project and, therefore, not covered under the act. Director Wirth wrote that the department was prepared to remedy this difficulty by requesting Congress to amend the existing statute to

include development, and he was hopeful of the outcome. However, he cautioned, "This, of course, will take time."

Wirth also indicated that the service would be "glad to explore with AMI the possibility..." of using tax monies rather than private donations to complete the pedestal. On June 7, Hamilton met Wirth to discuss this idea more fully. Subsequently, Wirth instructed the chief of the Division of Design and Construction to prepare cost estimates for finishing the statue's base, including "all excavation and rough construction work necessary to provide sufficient space" for the proposed museum. The Director mentioned the job might be done with funds available for MISSION 66 (the ten-year program of the NPS to improve, develop, and protect the scenic and historic resources under its care and make them adequate to serve the steadily increasing numbers of visitors).[20]

As Wirth had warned, amending the law took time, but also as he had predicted, it was approved. The Department submitted a draft bill to Congress in September 1957, which simply inserted the word "development" into the 1955 act. Congress passed and President Eisenhower signed Public Law 85-658 in August 1958.

Since Wirth was almost certain the amendment would pass, he agreed with du Pont, Grant, and Hamilton that the 1955 cooperative agreement between the secretary of the interior and the AMI must also be changed to reflect the new financing arrangements. At the Joint Development Committee meeting of May 9, 1957, attended by both Wirth and Lee, the document was amended to read that the NPS would build and develop the museum out of funds contributed by AMI "and other sources and funds made available by Congress." These "other sources" might be appropriated "outright or on condition that they be matched with" privately donated monies. The director submitted the amended agreement to the department's solicitor and to the secretary of the interior for final approval, which was obtained in September 1957.[21]

Hamilton, du Pont, Grant, and the others were much encouraged by these government commitments; they took further comfort from a new, modest architectural plan drawn up in early 1959 by the NPS Division of Design and Construction that indicated an immigration museum might be built for about $2,350,000 instead of the $4,500,000 estimated at an earlier date. With the matching arrangement, that meant the AMI, Inc., had to raise approximately $1,175,000, rather than the $5,000,000 orginally announced.

The brighter outlook led the Executive Committee of AMI to contact G. A. Brakeley & Co., Inc., professional fund-raisers. After months of consultation, the AMI hired this organization in February 1959 to examine why Operation Unity had failed, to weigh the chances for future success, and to make recommendations for a revitalized money-rasing campaign.

During this evaluation the Brakeley people interviewed members of the AMI Board of Trustees and its former staff, key contributors, labor, business and foundation executives, and knowledgeable public officials. Many of those interviewed attributed the failure, at least in part, to inept leadership. Kenneth Rose, former executive director of AMI, said du Pont and Hamilton were two "nice guys" but not able executives. Baldwin, he charged, knew nothing about fund-raising. At least one trusteee criticized du Pont and Hamilton for signing a contract with Baldwin and Mermey for an "excessive retainer."[22]

Similar assessments came from sources other than the Brakeley study. In August 1958, Leonard Dreyfuss and Gardner Osborn (trustees of the AMI), met with NPS regional director Daniel J. Tobin. They claimed that Grant, du Pont and Hamilton were simply not "workers," and they doubted that under their guidance the AMI would ever be able to raise $1,000,000. Baldwin himself, in a 1961 letter to du Pont, wrote:

> What I frankly fear is that we may again drift into the perennial pattern of Sandy [Alexander Hamilton] going abroad in the early spring, returning just a few days before you go on vacation, and then himself leaving for a summer in Maine.

In addition to poor leadership, several of those questioned felt the AMI had not thought through either the location or type of museum it wanted to develop. Lacking a clear conception, it could not sell the idea to a broad public. Edward Corsi, former commissioner of immigration and an AMI trustee, suggested tying the museum to rehabilitation of Ellis Island and thereby making "one big project with real appeal." Robert Moses said more bluntly, "The American Museum of Immigration has no appeal. Immigrants went through Castle Clinton and Ellis Island, not Liberty Island."[23]

The Brakely investigation pointed to two other weaknesses of the earlier drive: excessive administrative costs ("about the highest of any reputable campaign we

know about") and failure to recruit a chairman for a New York committee, in the city that should have spearheaded the whole national effort. Nonetheless, the report stated that the public relations achievements of Operation Unity had been "very real": millions of people were made aware of the project. As a result, donations had continued to come in after June 1957, and by early 1959 the AMI had collected more than $300,000 for the museum.

The Brakeley study concluded there was a good prospect for success with a renewed campaign, provided the following steps were taken: 1) attract new, active leadership and a more competent administrative staff at AMI headquarters; 2) find private underwriting for the drive to assure contributors that all donations would be used for the museum; 3) approach the Rockefeller and other foundations with a clear, concise museum project proposal; 4) concentrate on twenty-five or thirty prospective big donors; 5) broaden and intensify the appeal to ethnic groups, especially Czechs, Jews, Italians, French, and Germans; and 6) hire an experienced fund-raising firm.

The AMI began to implement the recommendations. They raised underwriting money, most of it contributed by du Pont, who also paid more than $8,000 in fees for the Brakeley report out of his own pocket. The AMI staff, relocated in space provided by the NPS at Federal Hall, showed renewed energy. The Executive Committee hired Brakeley and Co. to serve as its fund-raising advisor on the reactivated effort.[24]

The fund-raising campaign initiated in the fall of 1959 proved less costly than the earlier one, but was no more successful. The AMI received some additional gifts from ethnic groups and from business executives, but appeals to foundations and corporations produced little but rejection letters.

Then, in October 1960, Hamilton wrote cheerfully to Leonard Dreyfuss, "There may be good news around the corner!" Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton had decided that rehabilitation, preservation, and development projects at Castle Clinton, Federal Hall, and the Statue of Liberty should be completed in time for the World's Fair scheduled to open in New York in 1964. Seaton was prepared to ask Congress for stepped-up appropriations to further meet this objective and had requested the New York City National Shrines Advisory Board to help raise private money as well.

Hamilton, who among his other offices served as chairman of that board, reported to Dreyfuss that it would form a non-profit corporation known as the New York City National Shrines Associates. The Associates would act as a coordinating group, assisting the AMI, Inc., Federal Hall Memorial Associates, Inc., and Castle Clinton Monument Association in their separate drives to raise money for each of the sites. Among the directors of the Shrines Associates were such prominent New Yorkers as retired Admiral John J. Bergen, chairman, Graham-Paige Corporation; John D. Butt, chairman, American Trust Company; and L. Porter Moore, vice president of the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association. These men, Hamilton reasoned, would have better connections for obtaining foundation, bank and corporate gifts than AMI.[25] While Hamilton's sanguine expectations for the Shrines Associates never materialized, the combined efforts of the AMI and the Shrines Associates brought collections for the museum to nearly $419,000 by September 30, 1961.

During the previous summer an Interior Department Appropriations Act passed Congress and was signed by President Kennedy. It contained an item providing $1,000,000 to match private donations for the work at the New York City monuments. Four hundred thousand dollars of this was earmarked for the American Museum of Immigration at the base of the statue. In September, the NPS notified the Shrines Advisory Board of these facts and requested the matching contribution. On the evening of October 10, 1961, at a dinner in New York given by the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association, Pierre du Pont handed Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall the AMI matching check that would, finally, enable construction to begin.[26]

The federal appropriation and private monies were almost enough to cover the first stage of construction, that is, excavation of the landfill between the statue's pedestal and the walls of Fort Wood and erection of the concrete shell of the base which would also house the museum. To complete the project by the 1964 World's Fair, however, the AMI still had to produce the remainder of its half of the cost. Therefore, the search for donations continued.

In April 1962, Mayor Robert Wagner, a member of the New York City Shrines Advisory Board, requested the city's Board of Estimate to amend the capital budget to provide a contribution of $250,000 toward the work underway at Federal Hall, Castle Clinton, and the Statue of Liberty. The Board of Estimate gave its approval and the city

presented a check to the Shrines Advisory Board in July. The Shrines Advisory Board, in turn, allocated $50,000 of the donation to the museum of immigration.[27]

The following spring, L. Porter Moore, secretary of the Shrines Advisory Board, met in Washington, D.C., with Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. He approached her because in 1954, the group she headed had contributed $200,000 to restore and refurnish the first floor of Independence Hall. Moore wondered if the civic-minded women might be willing to undertake a similar fund drive to build and develop the immigration museum. Mrs. Arnold was interested to know more, and Moore agreed to ask the NPS to present a detailed account of the project.

Director Conrad Wirth and Supervisory Historian Thomas Pitkin, who had written the Prospectus for the museum, arrived soon afterward to acquaint Mrs. Arnold with the plans and urge her to help raise the money to make the museum a reality. Mrs. Arnold responded that fund-raising for the AMI would become the principal activity of the Women's Clubs for the rest of the year. In order to fire the enthusiasm of the organization's members, she invited Wirth to address its annual convention in Milwaukee on June 14 and to distribute brochures and other promotional literature to the delegates. The "Strengthen the Arm of Liberty" drive, as the Women's Clubs called their collections effort, eventually raised over $41,000 for the museum.

Meanwhile, the fund-raising firm of Brakeley & Co. persuaded George Textor, president of Marine Midland Bank, to chair an AMI Finance Committee aimed at obtaining large gifts from the business world. Pierre du Pont generously pledged another $50,000 and Lawrence Rockefeller, $20,000, but before the campaign made much headway it was undermined by allegations of misuse of funds.[28]

On June 11, 1963, the New York World-Telegram ran a critical article and editorial about the AMI, Inc., and its activities; these were followed by stories in the New York Times and the Herald Tribune. The newspapers claimed that in eight years (1955-1963) the AMI had received $1.3 million in contributions from the public, of which it had spent $800,000 in "so-called expenses--travel, lunches, professional fund-raisers and so on," leaving only $450,000 for building the museum. The World-Telegram proclaimed, "All those people who have given...deserve more of an explanation than they have received."

At an emergency strategy meeting, attended by du Pont, Textor, George Brakeley, and Pitkin (representing the NPS), the AMI attempted to repair the harm done to its public image. The participants decided to issue a "White Paper" stressing that the New York Attorney General's Office had given the AMI a clean bill of health and that since 1957 the whole administrative expense of fund-raising had been privately underwritten. In that way, AMI could assure donors that every penny they gave went directly for developing the museum. While this answer may have soothed the injury somewhat, it did not cure it.[29]

As of June 30, 1963, the situation was as follows. Congress had appropriated another $450,000 for the museum in fiscal 1963, and program adjustments within the NPS had provided an additional $170,400. To date, the federal government had put $1,020,400 into the construction. Private donations had reached $512,000, though the AMI had actually turned over to the NPS a little over $400,000. If the museum was to be completed by October 1964, in time for the World's Fair, the supporters still had to raise over $700,000.

With the flow of new gifts reduced to a trickle after the news stories, the AMI came nowhere close to reaching the goal. As a result, by the target date, the exterior of the base was nearly finished, but nothing had been accomplished on the interior. In November 1964, the NPS notified the AMI that all further work would have to halt at the expiration of the contracts then in effect. No new obligations could be assumed since government appropriations had run out and donated monies lagged far behind the federal investment.

Left with an empty shell, the museum backers were challenged to find new ways to raise money. Soon the National Shrines Advisory Board came forward with a scheme. Under the authority of Public Law 88-262, passed by Congress in January 1964, the board proposed to strike and market commemorative medallions of the Statue of Liberty. To finance this project, L. Porter Moore wrote to the General Federation of Women's Clubs requesting an interest-free loan of $25,000 out of the $41,000 the women had collected for the immigration museum. The money would be repaid out of proceeds from the sale of the medallions, and many additional dollars would be taken in to initiate work on the interior.

The Women's Clubs agreed, and in June 1964 the medallions went on sale at Gimbels and other department stores--bronze at $4, silver for $10. Unfortunately, the

Shrines Advisory Board apparently overlooked other and probably better marketing outlets. The concessionaire at Liberty Island felt certain he could have sold many of these medals to tourists, but he never received any. Sales proved so limited that they did not provide enough revenue to pay back the loan, much less earn any profits for the museum. In 1967, when the NPS requested the Shrines Advisory Board to return the $25,000, the board replied by asking if the service would accept as repayment unsold medallions having a retail value of $40,000. The NPS declined, stating that even if it could eventually dispose of the medals it saw no legal way to manage such a transaction. As late as the mid-1970s the loan had not been repaid and boxes of unsold medallions rested in the basement of Federal Hall.[30]

In November 1964 a new personality appeared on the scene. Gerald A. Kearney, a New York attorney who once described himself as "one of the last [Irish] immigrants to pass through Ellis Island," sent John A. Townsley, superintendent of the New York City NPS Group, a letter and certificate of incorporation in the State of New York for the National Historic Shrines Foundation. Kearney's letter and the document explained that the purpose of his foundation was to raise funds for the museum and for any future development of Ellis Island that the NPS might undertake, as well as to solicit donations of immigrant artifacts for exhibits in the immigration museum. Since Kearney had not cleared his plans with the NPS or entered into a cooperative agreement with it, Townsley and Regional Director Ronald Lee, whom the superintendent informed about the matter, were wary and asked Kearney to delay any money-raising campaigns until they had time to study his proposals and to coordinate them with those of the New York City National Shrines Advisory Board.

Kearney's energy and interest soon persuaded several major New York politicians, such as Paul O'Dwyer, Emmanuel Celler, and Mario Procaccino, to lend their names as honorary trustees for the foundation. Although the Park Service never formalized a relationship with the organization, it did, for a time, cooperate with the group. NPS Historian George Svejda and Kearney showed journalists some of the objects already obtained for the museum. Statue of Liberty Superintendent Lester McClanahan helped Kearney arrange a public relations tour of the island for members of the press and potential foundation supporters. They led the guests through the bare cavity under the shell that would someday, they hoped, house the museum.

Kearney wrote press releases about the need for money to complete the museum and urged the public to send donations to the Historic Shrines Foundation. He presented an hour-long television program on WOR-TV, Channel 9, on the evening of February 22, 1966. Called "They Entered the Golden Door: The Immigrant Impact on America," the show featured Kearney discussing the museum with Celler, Procaccino, O'Dwyer, and Judge Samual A. Spiegel. Kearney's most ambitious plan, however, involved persuading well-known artists to contribute their works to the foundation so that it could auction them off and hand the proceeds to the Park Service for the museum. Louise Nevelson contributed a sculpture worth $15,000; Salvador Dali promised to paint a picture of the Statue of Liberty on a television program and then allow it to be auctioned to the highest bidder. Kearney anticipated it would bring in at least $25,000.

Controversey soon swirled around Kearney's activities. Historian Svejda wrote memos to his supervisors complaining of the lawyer's treatment of him personally, the inaccurate statements in Kearney's press releases and TV program, and the undignified ways in which he solicited contributions. Kearney sued Salvador Dali for reneging on his offer to paint on television, and a representative from the New York State Attorney General's office called the NYC NPS Group on February 9, 1966, to report "several complaints concerning the National Historic Foundation, Inc. and the American Museum of Immigration activities." In May 1967, Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer wrote to Washington, "Ever since Gerald Kearney and his National Historic Shrines, Foundation, Inc. have come on the scene we have gone through periods of tension, controversy and even a few personal arguments. It would appear public interest is not always the driving force in some of these fund-raising drives."

Kearney never held the auction nor did he turn over any money to the NPS. Eventually, complaints against the organization led the New York Attorney General's office to order it dissolved and the art objects returned to their creators. As late as 1969, puzzled painters who inquired of the Service what had happened to their works were being referred to the Charity Frauds Division of the Attorney General's Office.[31]

The AMI, Inc., meanwhile was barely functioning. Its fund-raising drive had come to a halt and the increase in its capital account came almost entirely from interest the money was earning. By September 30, 1967, AMI had transferred $492,273 to the NPS out of that fund and had

remaining in it $209,719. It had no ability to launch still another public campaign since at the end of 1967 it had a mere $9.28 left in its General Fund for operating expenses. Only a $2,000 gift from General Grant and similar underwriting from other Executive Committee members kept the office open and tiny staff employed.

As a result of these experiences NPS Acting Regional Director Palmer advised in 1967 that the work on the museum be finished with congressional appropriations as they became available. The time had come, he wrote, to "arrange some appropriate...luncheon at the Cosmos Club or elsewhere to recognize the great contribution that General Grant, Sandy Hamilton and Pierre du Pont have made; tell them so publicly, and announce...that private fundraising is over."[32]

While Palmer's superiors in the Department of the Interior did not follow his advice about the luncheon or the public announcement, they agreed with him about obtaining public funds. In fiscal year 1967, without waiting for matching donations, the department requested and received from Congress $900,000 to begin work on the interior of the base. Fiscal year 1968 brought another appropriation, but funds for completing the museum were deleted from the fiscal 1969 budget and so progress again halted. With new monies provided by Congress and small additional donations from the AMI's capital account, the project was finally finished in 1972. By that time, actual costs were double the 1959 estimate because of inflation, the piecemeal way in which contracts were let, and controversies over the exhibits which led to several revisions. In short, the total cost of the museum, $5,000,000, was primarily paid by the taxpayers of the United States. Of that $5,000,000, approximately $450,000 came from private donations, and the City of New York contributed $50,000.[33]

NOTES

[1]Robert A. Caro, The Power Broker (New York, 1974), pp. 644-689; Thomas Pitkin, Keepers of the Gate (New York, 1975), pp. 180-181.

[2]AMI News, October 28, 1962, p. 2; William H. Baldwin, "The AMI at the Statue of Liberty, Status of AMI-Operation Unity Campaign, April 1961," New York City File, Drawer 18, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room Statue of Liberty, Liberty Island.

[3]Pitkin, Keepers of the Gate, p. 181; AMI News, October 28, 1962, p. 2; Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, April 16, 1952, pp. 1-2, Special Collections, New York City Public Library; Written comments of Edward Kallop, former curator of the American Museum of Immigration, to author, August 24, 1983.

[4]Other members of the delegation included Spyros P. Skouras, president of 20th Century Fox Film Corporation; Anna Lord Strauss, former president of the League of Women Voters; Messmore Kendall, trustee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society; and Orme Lewis, assistant secretary of the interior. New York Times, August 11, 1954.

[5]Ten Eyck Lansing, managing director, AMI, to Gardner Osborn, secretary, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, March 23, 1955, Duplicates File, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room; New York Times, August 11, 1954; Douglas Mc Kay, secretary of the interior, to Major General U.S. Grant, 3rd, June 17, 1954, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1956 File, NPS Papers, Storage Area, Liberty Island; Dwight D. Eisenhower to Major General Grant, August 27, 1954, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1954 File, Storage Area, Liberty Island.

[6]"Congress Praises AMI in Joint Resolution," Duplicates File, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room; S.J. 114, July 1956, 84th Congress, Second Session.

[7]The incorporators, who became the first Board of Trustees of the AMI, included Horace M. Albright, William H. Baldwin, Walter Binger, Edward Corsi, Robert W. Dowling, Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, Charles W. Engelhard, Sylvan Gotshal, Ulysses S. Grant, III, Alexander Hamilton, John A. Krout, Mary Phillips Riis, William Rosenwald, Spyros P. Skouras, Hans Christian Sonne, Anna Lord Strauss and James G. Van Derpool. Charter and Bylaws of the American Museum of Immigration, Inc., pp. 1-3.

[8]The AMI received $241.69 in cash and agreed to pay approximately $15,000 owed to Baldwin and Mermey for earlier expenses. Contract among Baldwin and Mermey, AMI, Inc., and ASHPS, March 9, 1955.

[9]Thomas Pitkin, "Material Prepared for AMI Ceremonies October 28, 1959," Duplicates File; Charter and Bylaws of the AMI, Inc., January 28, 1955, Duplicates File; Contract among Baldwin and Mermey, the AMI, and the ASHPS, March 9, 1955, Duplicates File; H.R. 3120, 84th Congress 1st Session, January 26, 1955.

[10]Cooperative Agreement Between the Secretary of the Interior and the AMI Relating to the Establishment of the American Museum of Immigration at the Statue of Liberty National Monument, October 7, 1955, AMI (Assoc.) File, Drawer 2, NPS Papers, Artifact Room; AMI Newsletter, June 1956, A-42, AMI National Committee, 1954-56 File, Drawer 3, NPS Papers, Artifact Room; Minutes of the Organization Meeting Joint Development Committee, AMI, May 11, 1956, D6215, AMI 1956--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room; AMI News, October 28, 1962, p. 4; May 16, 1956, Duplicates File.

[11]AMI, "Report of the Managing Director for the Calendar Year 1955," Duplicates File; AMI, "Preliminary Operations Plan for National Appeal, March 15, 1955," by Baldwin and Mermey, Duplicates File.

[12]Memo from U.S. Grant to Members of the National Committee of AMI, D6, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1955 File, NPS Papers, Storage Area; AMI NEWS, September 28, 1956; Minutes of the AMI Executive Committee Meeting, September 14, 1955 and January 4, 1956, Duplicates File; AMI Newsletter, September 7, 1956, Duplicates File.

[13]AMI News, September 28, 1956, A-42, AMI National Committee, 1954-56 File, Drawer 3, NPS Papers, Artifact Room; AMI, "Preliminary Operations Plan."

[14]AMI News, December 1, 1955; Bulletin to Friends of AMI, January 11, 1956, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3; AMI Newsletter, September 7, 1956; AMI News, June 28, 1956, Drawer 15, AMI 1956, Drawer 6; Chicago, Ill. Austinite, October 12, 1955; The Galesburg, Ill. Daily Register-Mail, August 6, 1955.

[15]Minutes of the AMI Executive Committee Meetings, September 13, 1956, November 18, 1955, Duplicates File; AMI News, September 28, 1956.

[16]Program for the 70th Birthday of the Statue and Opening of the National Appeal for AMI, October 28, 1956, D6215, AMI, 1956 File, Drawer 6; New York Journal-American, October 29, 1956; New York Herald Tribune, October 29, 1956.

[17]American Museum of Immigration, Statue of Liberty, U.S.A., publicity leaflet of AMI, Duplicates File; AMI Group Founders (Labor), February 25, 1957, Duplicates File; Report of the Vice Chairman, National Committee to 2nd Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, November 14, 1956, Statue of Liberty Society File, Drawer 30, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room; Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Executive Committee, November 14, 1956, Duplicates File.

[18]Alexander Hamilton to Conrad L. Wirth, director, NPS (no date), A-42, AMI National Committee, 1954-56 File, Drawer 3; "Suggested Plan for Revitalization of the AMI Fund-Raising Efforts," Drawer 51, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room; Minutes of the Special Meeting of the AMI Board of Trustees, April 17, 1957, Duplicates File; D. Kenneth Rose to Spyros P. Skouras, May 8, 1957, Duplicates File; "Analysis of AMI Receipts v. Expenditures, April 5, 1957," Mr. Hamilton File, Drawer 18, AMI, Inc. Papers; John W. Andrews to D. K. Rose, April 12, 1957, Duplicates File.

[19]D. Kenneth Rose to U. S. Grant, March 28, 1957, Duplicates file; U. S. Grant to Richard M. Nixon, March 26, 1957, Duplicates File; D. K. Rose to Spyros P. Skouras, May 8, 1957, Duplicates File; Minutes of the Meeting with Hatfield Chilson, May 9, 1957, Washington, D.C., A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3; Bernard M. Shanley, secretary to the President, to U S. Grant, March 1, 1957, Duplicates File.

[20]Minutes of the AMI Executive Committee Meeting, May 28, 1957, Duplicates File; U. S. Grant to Conrad Wirth, June 3, 1957, Duplicates File; Conrad Wirth to U. S. Grant, April 16, 1957, D6215, AMI 1957--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Conrad Wirth to Chief, Division of Design and Construction, July 2, 1957, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1957 File, NPS Papers, Storage Area.

[21]Roger Ernst, assistant secretary of interior, to Speaker of the House of Representatives, September 4, 1957, Alexander Hamilton-1957-58 File, Drawer 50, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room; Public Law 85-658, 85th Congress (72 Stat. 613), August 14, 1958; Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Joint Development Committee, May 9, 1957, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 5; Ronald F. Lee to Alexander Hamilton, September 6, 1956, D6215, AMI 1957-Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6.

[22]Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the AMI, October 28, 1959, Duplicates File; Henry Lee Munson for George A. Brakeley & Co. to Alexander Hamilton, December 16, 1958, Duplicates File; Working Notes of Henry Lee Munson and Eugenie Owens of G. A. Brakeley & Co., February 16, 1959, Duplicates File; G. A. Brakeley & Co., Inc. Fund-Raising Study for the Trustees of the American Museum of Immigration, July 1, 1959, Duplicates File; Survey Interview with Sylvan Gotshal by H. L. Munson, February 11, 1959; Interview with Frank Mitchell, February 11, 1959; Interview with Alfred H. Horowitz, February 25, 1959; Interview with D. Kenneth Rose by Eugenie Owens, September 25, 1959, AMI Survey Interviews, File, Drawer 11, AMI, Inc. Papers, Artifact Room.

[23]Daniel J. Tobin to Director, NPS, August 13, 1958, D6215, AMI 1958, July-December--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; William H. Baldwin to Pierre S. du Pont, January 5, 1961, Mr. Hamilton File, Drawer 18, AMI, Inc. Papers; Interview with Edward Corsi, February 19, 1959; Interview with Robert Moses, March 30, 1959, AMI Survey Interviews File, Drawer 11, AMI, Inc. Papers.

[24]G. A. Brakeley & Company, Fund-Raising Study, July 1, 1959; Minutes of AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, October 28, 1959; Newell H. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1959, NPS Papers, Administration Building, Liberty Island.

[25]Hoo Sharor (newsletter of the Armenian General Benevolent Union), August 1, 1960; "Present State of AMI Fund-Raising Campaign," D6215, AMI 1963: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; AMI # (1959-61) File, Drawer 26, AMI, Inc. Papers; A. Hamilton to Leonard Dreyfuss, October 5, 1960, Mr. Hamilton File, Drawer 18; L. Porter Moore to Fred A. Seaton, September 23, 1960 and Certificate of Incorporation of NYC National Shrines Associates, Inc. L58, Proposed Areas File, NPS Papers, Bayonne Record Center.

[26]Minutes of the AMI Executive Committee Meeting, October 10, 1961, Duplicates File; Ronald F. Lee to Carleton D. Smith, July 17, 1961, D6215, AMI, 1959, 60, 61, Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6.

[27]L. Porter Moore to Newell H. Foster, May 8, 1962, D6215, AMI-SLNM 1962 File, Drawer 6; New York Times, May 3, 1962; John D. Butt to A. Hamilton, July 19, 1962, Duplicates File; Abraham D. Beame to John J. Bergen, March 15, 1963, Re: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31, AMI, Inc. Papers.

[28]Charles W. Porter, 3rd, chief historian, to Conrad Wirth, April 26, 1963; Howard R. Stagner, acting assistant director, Conservation, Interpretation and Use, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, May 7, 1963, D6215, AMI 1963: January-June, Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; L. Porter Moore to Newell H. Foster and L. Porter Moore to Pierre S. du Pont, July 29, 1963, D6215, AMI-STLI NM 1963 File, Drawer 6; U. S. Department of the Interior News Release, June 14, 1963; Jackson E. Price, assistant director, Conservation, Interpretation, Use, to Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, April 9, 1963; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April 1963; "Present State of AMI Fund-Raising Campaign," D6215, AMI 1963: January-June-Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Minutes of the AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, November 7, 1963, AMI (Association) File, Drawer 2; Minutes of the AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, November 12, 1964, Re: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31, AMI, Inc. Papers.

[29]New York World-Telegram, June 11, 1963; New York Times, June 11, June 12, 1963; New York Herald Tribune, June 11, 1963; Minutes of AMI Conference, June 11, 1963, D6215, AMI 1963: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; T. Pitkin to N. H. Foster, June 12, 1963, D6215, AMI 1963: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities File; AMI News (no date), AMI-STLI NM 1963 File, Drawer 6.

[30]"AMI Fund Status, April 25, 1963," D6215, AMI 1963: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Minutes of the AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, November 12, 1964, Re: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31, AMI, Inc. Papers; Mrs. William H. Hasebrook, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs, to George B. Hartzog, director NPS, July 9, 1964, Re: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31; New York Journal-American, June 20, 1965; Director NPS to A. Hamilton, April 8, 1970, Funding File, Drawer 2; Interviews conducted by author with Marilyn Keeler, administrative officer, STLI NM and David Moffitt, supt., STLI NM, spring 1983.

[31]New York Post, June 2, 1966; Gerald A. Kearney to John A. Townsley, November 9, 1964; John A. Townsley to Gerald A. Kearney, November 10, 1964; Townsley to Regional Director Ronald Lee, November 10, 1964, D6215, AMI-STLI NM 1963 File, Drawer 6; Universal Public Relations, Inc. Press Release, April 19, 1966, D6215, AMI 1966: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities, Drawer 6; George Svejda to Supt. NYC NPS Group, February 23, 1966, D6215, AMI 1966: January-June--Museum Exhibit Activities File; Gerald A. Kearney to A. C. Stratton, June 30, 1966, D6215, AMI 1966: January-June File; New York Times June 8, 1966;

Svejda, Memo for Internal Use, April 22, 1966, D6215, AMI 1966; January-June File; Memo G. J. Svejda, February 9, 1966, D6215, AMI 1966: January-June File; George A. Palmer to Director NPS, May 3, 1967, D6215, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2; Arthur L. Sullivan, assistant supt., STLI NM to Henry Curtis Ahl, November 7, 1969, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1968 File, Storage Area.

[32]S.D. Leidesdorf & Co., Certified Public Accountants, The AMI Report on Financial Statements As At September 30, 1967, Drawer 5; Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Board of Trustess, December 6, 1967, Drawer 5, NPS Papers; George A. Palmer to Director NPS, May 3, 1967, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2.

[33]George B. Hartzog, Jr., director, NPS, to Representative Frank M. Karsten, July 18, 1966; "History of the AMI" (no date), Drawer 2; "The American Museum of Immigration," AMI Interim Exhibits, May 17, 1968 File, Drawer 2; William C. Everhart, assistant director, Interpretation, to Representative Frank Annunzio, November 7, 1968, D6215, Museum and Exhibit Activities Planning Cooperative Agreement AMI 1968 File, Drawer 6; New York Daily News, October 3, 1971.

CHAPTER 3

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF IMMIGRATION TAKES SHAPE

The early promotional literature of the American Museum of Immigration, Inc., described quite a grandiose museum to be built within the completed base of the Statue of Liberty. It would have 50,000 square feet of floor space. There would be main exhibit halls arranged in a hollow square around the existing pedestal and "accent" galleries for special displays in the star points made by the walls of Fort Wood. In addition, the museum would contain a library, work and storage rooms, office space, a Hall of Records in which all who had contributed money would receive recognition, and a large auditorium where ethnic groups could gather to celebrate holidays of special significance to them, such as Columbus, St. Patrick's, or Bastille Day (Fig. 4).

As a preliminary step to preparing architectural drawings for such a museum, NPS Supervisory Historian Thomas Pitkin wrote a report on the structural history of Fort Wood. At its April 1957 meeting, the Joint Development Committee[1] instructed Alexander Hamilton to contact NPS Director Conrad Wirth to formally request that the Eastern Office of Design and Construction,[2] under Edward S. Zimmer, begin immediately to develop architectural plans.[3]

The assignment went to EODC Supervising Architect John B. Cabot, assisted by Donald F. Benson. They worked in cooperation with Pitkin and with Alden B. Stevens, a museum specialist and exhibit planner hired by the NPS to aid Pitkin. Stevens and Pitkin were simultaneously creating a preliminary exhibit plan. Cabot presented the drawings and cost estimates to the January 9, 1958, meeting of the Joint Development Committee. The layouts showed all of the features described in the AMI's promotional brochures, including two-story lobby and exhibit halls and a 300-seat auditorium. The accompanying price tag for exterior and interior construction, as well as preparing the exhibits, read $4,479,000. Cabot explained the seemingly high figure to the committee as resulting

from the island's location. Labor would be more expensive than in Manhattan, as would disposing of excavated landfill. To provide workers and materials continuous access to the island would require building a dock costing $80,000. Apparently satisfied with what he had heard, General Grant moved that the preliminary general plan and cost estimates be approved as submitted, and all present unanimously agreed.[4]

The AMI officers, however, began to have second thoughts. Their public fund-raising drive had produced results well below their goal, and attempts to revive the campaign were progressing slowly. By the fall, the Executive Committee decided it could not back such a costly project. Hamilton reported this to the October Joint Development meeting, noting, "the estimate of $4,479,000 [is] so far in excess of any fundraising expectation of the AMI, even with the matching-funds provision invoked, that they could not conscientiously solicit additional contributions on such a basis." At best, Hamilton said, they could raise $1,000,000.

When Hamilton reiterated this AMI stand at the next session a month later, Wirth's reply indicated the staff of the NPS had been thinking of ways to cope with the changed situation. The NPS Director suggested that substantial savings might be realized by placing the museum on the intermediate or second-floor terrace and reducing overall floor space to around 20,000 square feet. Hamilton greeted the idea with relief, whereupon the participants asked Zimmer, who was also present at the meeting, to prepare new drawings and estimates along the lines proposed by Wirth, for a museum whose total cost must not exceed $2,600,000.[5]

On February 5, 1959, Zimmer notified Wirth that EODC had accomplished the task. The revised plan called for a facility with 24,000 square feet of floor space, rougly 9,000 of it occupied by a second-floor museum and corridor. They had arrived at the latter size in consultation with Pitkin and Edward J. Beirly of the Museum Branch, who had suggested the minimum space required to mount a meaningful exhibit. Pitkin and Beirly also provided information on visitor traffic flow patterns at the statue.

In the revised plan, the two-story lobby remained because it was, "essential...to create the dignity and impressiveness needed for this museum," but the 300-seat auditorium was gone, along with most of the special display areas and office, library, and work space. The

plan did contain, however, one feature not found in earlier drafts: in a hall leading to the elevator 1,690 square feet was earmarked for use as a Statue of Liberty Story Room. The accompanying cost estimate showed a price of $2,350,000, which included $350,000 for development of the exhibits and another $350,000 for contingencies.

Wirth passed on the news and sketches to Hamilton, Grant, du Pont, and the other AMI executives. In the months that followed, the plan received formal approval from Regional Director Lee, Superintendent Foster, Director Wirth, and finally in October 1961, the Executive Committee of the AMI. During the same year, the AMI contributed $10,000, matched by an equal sum of federal funds, to finance preparation of final architectural drawings based on the February 1959 plan. All that was needed to start construction was money, which came thanks to Congress and the AMI check handed to Secretary Udall in October 1961.[6]

The following month the NPS awarded a contract for $69,000 to the Acme Excavation Corporation of the Bronx. This first phase of construction involved digging out 12,000 cubic yards of landfill between the statue's pedestal and the ramparts of Fort Wood, and removing the material on barges. Work commenced on November 13 and was finished by mid-December.

Robert E. Smith, chief architect of the EODC, initiated phase II of the building process when, in April 1962, he forwarded to Superintendent Foster blueprints and specifications for the concrete and steel base that would complete the pedestal and house the museum. The NPS invited contractors to study these plans and submit bids for the job.

In Washington, on June 19, 1962, Secretary of the Interior Udall signed a joint contract for $944,220 with representatives of the two lowest bidders, the Lewis Morris Demolition Company and the Peter Reiss Construction Company, both of Queens, New York.[7] Their labor crews arrived on the island in July, but according to Foster, the work progressed slowly during that summer.[8]

By October 28, the 76th anniversary of the statue's dedication, enough had been accomplished to permit the laying of the cornerstone for the American Museum of Immigration. The AMI, Inc., and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars together staged a grand ceremony for the occasion. Alexander Hamilton presided over speeches by Assistant Secretary of State W. Averill

Harriman and NPS Director Wirth. The president of the Ladies Auxiliary of the VFW handed Pierre du Pont the final installment of her organization's $50,000 contribution for the museum. Mayor Wagner proclaimed this October 28th "American Museum of Immigration Day." Midway through the proceedings, Pierre-Christian Taittinger, president of the Municipal Council of Paris, arrived by helicopter to bring the good wishes of the people of Paris. Earlier in the week, a metal box implanted in the corner of the original pedestal was removed. The box, with its 19th-century contents, was placed in a larger copper container, along with such 20th-century artifacts as United States coins minted in 1962, presidential medals, and the charter of the AMI, Inc. The gathered dignitaries then embedded the new box in the cornerstone of the museum.[9]

With the official celebration over, construction activities resumed but all did not proceed smoothly. Foster continued to complain of slow progress, while David O. Smith, project supervisor, reported the work was often of poor quality. Smith had to constantly thwart the attempts of the contractor to "circumvent" requirements of the specifications. Whatever the difficulties, by the end of 1963 the concrete shell was completed and stood for all to see.

When the statue's next anniversary rolled around, the Ladies Auxiliary of the VFW hosted a celebration inside the new building. John A. Townsley, superintendent of the NYC NPS Group, invited them to walk out upon the broad terrace formed by the roof of the structure. He pointed to four large doorways in the original pedestal, which, until then, had been ornamental but functionless. Townsley told the group gathered on the new terrace, "We intend for you to be the first official party to enter one of those doors...."[10]

The third phase of building got underway in April 1964 when the NPS awarded a contract for $984,562 to the Teaco Construction Corporation of the Bronx. The agreement called for facing the concrete shell with granite, constructing a massive stonework entryway, and repaving the promenade surrounding the base and the mall in front of it with bluestone. Superintendent McClanahan reported that the rate and quality of work were satisfactory and by mid-summer 1965, the pedestal was finished. It did, indeed, reflect one of Richard M. Hunt's plans, which envisioned a stepped-terrace design.

The completed base was officially dedicated on October 28, 1965, but no further work was immediately undertaken. The NPS had signed no contracts for preparing the interior because congressional appropriations had run out and no additional private donations were forthcoming. For the next two and one-half years the cavernous space beneath the base waited untouched.[11]

Congress finally made phase IV of construction possible with its appropriation for fiscal year 1967. The task of supervising this stage of the job fell to the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, Design and Construction, of the NPS, with Judson S. Ball named as coordinating architect. Drawings and specifications were prepared to show to prospective contractors, and the Superintendent of the NYC NPS Group issued an invitation for bids in October 1967. On December 15, the Philadelphia Center entered into a contract for $1,097,888 with the low bidder, Gagliano and Gagliano, a Brooklyn firm owned by five brothers whose parents had emigrated from Italy.[12]

Under the terms of the agreement, the Gaglianos served as general contractors, bringing in a number of smaller companies to perform various parts of the work.[13] These firms finished approximately 17,000 square feet of the interior, consisting of a main lobby, the Statue of Liberty Story Room, public rest rooms, office, kitchen and other facilities, and the upper-level lobby in front of the space reserved for the museum. Their activities ranged from installing plumbing, electrical, heating, and cooling systems to laying carpeting, plastering ceilings, and reinforcing the concrete structure. Work commenced in January 1968 and by the spring of 1969, all stood ready but the 7,500-square-foot area where the AMI would go.[14]

The exhibits to be displayed in the Statue of Liberty Story Room still had to be prepared. In 1966, the NPS had signed a contract with a Miami, Florida-based designer, Gart Urban, to prepare an exhibit plan for the Statue of Liberty story. Based on this work, the Eastern Museum Laboratories of the NPS prepared the exhibits, and the Statue Story Room opened to the public on February 22, 1970.[15]

The NPS had intended to start the fifth and final phase of construction, finishing the AMI museum area and installing the exhibits, in the summer and fall of 1969, but with the cost of the Vietnam War rising relentlessly, Congress decided to cut back on domestic spending. One of the casualties of these cutbacks was the fiscal 1969 appropriation for completing the, by now, almost 20-year-old project.

When federal revenues again became available in fiscal year 1971, phase V finally got underway. On January 15, 1971, the NPS invited companies to submit bids for a contract that covered all of the remaining work on the American Museum of Immigration, ranging from preparing the floors to putting in the air-conditioning, from doing the electrical wiring to creating the exhibit walls and cases. Three bids arrived at the Office of the Superintendent of the Fire Island and NYC NPS Group. To the consternation of the NPS staff and the leaders of the AMI, Inc., the lowest asked for $914,200, the highest $987,654. The government had estimated that this final portion of the job could be accomplished for $430,000, and the NPS had available only $440,000.[16]

A few days later, on February 23, Judson Ball and Donald Benson from the Eastern Service Center, Russell Hendrickson, chief of the Museum Division, Ray G. Martinez of the Procurement and Contracting Office, and several others met to discuss the situation. The participants decided to redesign the project and break it into separate contracts for plumbing, air-conditioning, electrical work, floor covering, wall and exhibit case systems, and so on. They reasoned that breaking up the package would permit smaller companies to bid, and the competition among firms in each trade would produce lower prices.

This attempt to stimulate competition met with a problem in one area. Very few businesses existed with the specialized skill and experience to prepare exhibit walls and display cases. Russ Hendrickson thought he knew of one that possibly had the expertise and would undertake the assignment at a reaonable figure. He and Judson Ball contacted Presentations South, Inc., an Orlando, Florida, firm. After investigating its facilities, Henrickson and Ball, in March, recommended that the contract be awarded to Presentations South, which would do the work in Florida where labor was cheaper than in New York. The walls and cases would then be shipped to Liberty Island for assembling and installation. The Procurement and Contracting Office waived the requirement for further competitive bidding since Presentations South, Inc., was agreeing to do the work for $272,231 as opposed to $375,000 quoted for that part of the project by the lowest of the bids received under the package deal.[17]

The NPS signed the contract with Presentations South in June 1971. During that summer and fall, the Service also negotiated agreements with various companies to prepare the floor surfaces, install acoustical tile

ceilings, build in heating, air-conditioning, and electrical systems, and finish general construction.[18]

The Eastern Service Center, which was coordinating and supervising the many activities, set September 15, 1972, as the target date for completion, but several AMI leaders hoped for a swifter pace. On July 20, 1971, AMI Board members Spyros P. Skouras and Alfred Horowitz called upon NPS Director George Hartzog, Jr., Associate Director J.E.N. Jensen, Northeast Regional Director Henry G. Schmidt, and Fire Island and NYC NPS Group Superintendent Jerry Wagers to discuss ways to expedite the project. Skouras especially urged haste. Hartzog promised the NPS would make every effort to move the finishing date up to March 15 by instituting the following measures: laying and adhering to a strict time schedule for each job; processing contractor's vouchers for immediate payment; providing labor crews with transportation at 7:00 a.m. on the Park Service utility boat, rather than having them wait for the first Circle Line ship at 9:00 a.m.; and finding space on Liberty Island for a contractor's house trailer and for storage of building supplies.

Grant A. Cadwallader of the Eastern Service Center, who served as project supervisor, put these measures into effect. Superintendent Wagers issued monthly progress reports to Director Hartzog, representatives of the AMI, Inc., and all others concerned in the effort. A Daily News reporter, visiting the Statue in October 1971, described the work scene inside the base as one of "deliberate haste." On March 14, 1972, an inspection team that included Superintendent Jim Batman, Museum Curator Edward Kallop, Architect Judson Ball, Supervisor Cadwallader, and others, toured the site. They found all construction acceptable and all the work, except for a few minor items, finished.[19]

The museum was now ready for the public to enter. However, such acrimony had developed over the content of the exhibits that it threatened to postpone the opening indefinitely. To understand the controversy, one must go back to the 1950s and trace the long evolution through which exhibit planning had gone.

As early as 1954, the AMI, Inc., the cooperating Historians Committee, and key NPS staff members had agreed upon a number of basic concepts which guided exhibit planning and development.[20] In a meeting on June 9, 1954, that included William H. Baldwin, Alexander Hamilton, Gardner Osborn, John Krout of Columbia University, and from the NPS, Regional Director Ronald Lee, Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler, and Superintendent of

the Morristown Park Francis S. Ronalds, a consensus was reached on the aim of the exhibits. They agreed that the museum should inform visitors where the immigrants came from and why they came; it should emphasize "Americanization" or the "flowing together of the various races, creeds and cultures into one main stream"; and it should highlight the "contributions of nationality groups and famous immigrants to the development of America in such areas as economics, culture, science, etc." Ronald Lee offered to find a NPS historian who could do the research, assemble materials, and put together a museum prospectus along the lines discussed.[21]

Lee assigned the job to Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin, and during 1955 he spent most of his time preparing a Preliminary Draft Prospectus. In early 1956, Pitkin submitted his work to the regional and Washington offices of the NPS and to the AMI Historians Committee. At its March 22 gathering, the committee unanimously approved the prospectus and recommended its acceptance to the Joint Development Committee.[22]

In part, the favorable response to the prospectus stemmed from the fact that it held very closely to the principles agreed upon earlier. It also shared a point of view prevalent among many of these men in the 1950s. For example, Pitkin echoed the Cold War thinking of Baldwin, Hamilton, and du Pont, when he stated in the prospectus, "In a time of conflicting ideologies, when the competition for the loyalties of groups and individuals is keen," the purpose of the museum must be to foster national unity. Further, Pitkin's prospectus reflected the then widely held "melting pot" theory about the role of immigrants in American society. He stated that the museum would concentrate on the contributions made by people of diverse origins to a "common national life." According to the prospectus, the heart of the story presented by the museum should be that of the European migration between 1815 and 1914. Such an emphasis could be justified, in part, by the fact that during the years 1820-1920, nearly 34,000,000 immigrants entered the United States and, as Pitkin pointed out, the "overwhelming majority of these came from Europe." On the other hand, concentration on the Europeans mirrored the general neglect by historians in the 1950s of the African, Asian, and Hispanic minorities. This would lead to much criticism of the museum plan in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

If Pitkin shared much of the outlook of his colleagues, he also appreciated the complexity of the topic and the impossibility of covering it thoroughly in one museum of limited size. In the prospectus he quoted historian Oscar Handlin who stated:

> Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history. As I worked, the conviction grew upon me that adequately to describe the course and effects of immigration involved no less a task than to set down the whole history of the United States.[23]

After the Joint Development Committee approved Pitkin's prospectus, it wished to begin development of exhibits based on the narrative in that document. In November 1956, the AMI, Inc., donated $20,000 to the NPS to cover the expense of employing a museum specialist and exhibit planner to assist Pitkin. Lee, Ronalds, Chief of the NPS Museum Branch Ralph Lewis, and Pitkin decided Alden Stevens was the man for the position. Stevens had helped to design the NPS museums at Shiloh National Military Park and Rocky Mountain National Park. He had also served as associate director of the NPS museum laboratory at Berkeley.

Between February and June 1957, Stevens translated Pitkin's prospectus into museum exhibits. He began by writing a proposed story line for the museum. Then, he compiled a tentative list of 61 different exhibits and made rough sketches of the content of each, with accompanying label copy. Using the remainder of the money donated by the AMI, Inc., the NPS signed a contract with artist Clifford Young to illustrate the exhibit plan with black-and-white and colored drawings. By June, Young had done this for eight of the 61 units.

During the summer, Stevens took a temporary leave without pay from the NPS, while Pitkin showed the exhibit plan to various experts for their criticisms and suggestions. In June, Pitkin traveled to Cleveland to confer with Dean Wittke of Western Reserve University, who was a member of the AMI Historians Committee. The following month he met at Federal Hall with Dean Blegen of the University of Minnesota, another member of the committee.

Finally, in November 1957, Pitkin, Stevens, and Young attended an AMI exhibit planning conference in Washington, D.C. with Lee, Kahler, Lewis, Ronalds, and others to consider the advice of Wittke, Blegen, and others and give the plan a thorough review. The participants decided the number of exhibits was excessive and cut them back from 61 to 47. Most of the units removed, or combined and condensed, dealt with the pre-19th century period. They decided to add, on the other hand, some displays of the

Statue of Liberty and its symbolism. Lastly, they set late 1958 as the target date for making all necessary revisions and producing the finished exhibit plan.[24]

Pitkin, Stevens, and Young returned to the drawing board and by July 1958 had completed a preliminary exhibit plan, containing label copy and illustrated by 45 sketches and colored pictures. Their handiwork went on public display on the third floor of Federal Hall during the summer and fall. Pitkin wrote to dozens of professional historians inviting them to come and offer their criticisms and suggestions. The majority of those who visited the Federal Hall show and then wrote evaluations, praised what they saw. John Hope Franklin, a specialist in Afro-American history and then chairman of the History Department of Brooklyn College, thought the display was, on the whole, "a splendid job." Rowland T. Berthoff, professor of social history at Princeton, found it a "generally well-balanced treatment."

Some staff members of the NPS were critical of the presentation rather than the content. Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin informed Pitkin that "the consensus of opinion in our Interpretive Division is that the plan could use more dramatic impact...fewer words, more objects, more use of color and highlighting techniques." Floyd A. La Fayette of the Museum Branch said much the same thing and added a comment on the content that gave a hint of the criticism to come in the 1960s and 1970s: "...the good old Anglo-Saxons," he said, "are still portrayed as the predominating force in America."

During July, Pitkin and Stevens took a field trip to obtain further advice on the exhibit plan. They spoke to Blegen in Minneapolis and Wittke in Detroit. They visited and talked to curators at the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Detroit Historical Museum, the Polish Museum in Chicago, and others.

On the basis of the suggestions and criticisms, Pitkin, Stevens, and Young spent the fall revising the preliminary plan. The planning team completed its work on schedule in December 1958. It submitted the plan, containing 48 drawings of proposed exhibit units, to the NPS's regional and Washington offices, as well as to the AMI, Inc. Young's contract was over; Stevens left the employ of the Service to pursue other career opportunities; and Pitkin devoted his attention to research on the General Grant National Memorial.[25]

During 1959 and 1960, further museum planning came to a standstill due to the failure of the fund-raising

campaign, and a rethinking about the size and type of building the AMI could possibly finance took place. Efforts resumed with an exhibit planning meeting held in October 1961 among Pitkin; Alan Kent, curator of the Eastern Museum Laboratory; and EODC architect Don Benson. It was, by this time, clear that the 1958 plan would have to be modified. Stevens had estimated that the 48 units of that proposal would require between 25,000 and 32,000 square feet of floor space. However, the scaled-down architectural plan approved (out of economic necessity) in 1961 by the Park Service and the AMI provided only about 9,000 square feet of space.

For the next two years, Pitkin and Kent were joined by Floyd A. La Fayette, assistant chief of the Western Museum Laboratory, in the job of pruning, condensing, and revising the 1958 plan. They also had to write a prospectus and outline exhibits for the Statue of Liberty Story Room, which, though talked about earlier, had not been included in the 1958 plan. The Branch of Museums assigned La Fayette to lay out the exhibits for both the immigration museum and the Statue Story Room because he had the reputation of being one of the "best designers" in the Service.

In the summer of 1963, the new exhibit plan was ready for review by Chief of the Museum Branch Lewis, STLI NM Superintendent Foster, Regional Director Lee, and finally the Director's office. By the end of the year, it had gained approval from all of the above, though there continued to be some grumbling in the regional and Washington offices, and among some in the Interpretive Division, that the approach of the plan was still "too academic."[26]

Meanwhile, another very important phase of developing the museum was underway: searching for and obtaining the photographs, prints, paintings, and immigrant artifacts called for in the exhibit plan. In June 1962, George J. Svejda, a NPS historian who was fluent in seven languages, took on that task. He began by writing to leaders of ethnic organizations and thousands of their local chapters, explaining that the American Museum of Immigration would "depict the main causes of migration to this country, trace the course of migration, display items which the immigrants brought with them, and finally illustrate some of the accomplishments which they achieved here." Then, he appealed to them to donate or ask others of their group to donate such cultural artifacts as family Bibles, books, clothing, jewelry, coins, musical instruments, embroidery or other items brought by immigrants from the Old Country. He also requested pictures and/or photographs depicting important events in the history or culture of that nationality group.

Next, Svejda contacted hundreds of ethnic journals, including the The National Tribune in Detroit, the Chinese Times in San Francisco, the Armenian Mirror-Spectator in Boston, and Byelorussian Youth in Brooklyn. He asked the editors of these papers to publish an appeal to their readers for cultural artifacts. Svejda, additionally, offered to write articles, in the native language of the readers, about the planned museum. Many journals printed his appeal and several published the stories he wrote for them.

Svejda also took field trips to the midwest and along the eastern seaboard to seek the help and advice of curators of ethnic museums and leaders of ethnic communities. At the same time, he publicized the museum and its search for cultural objects by arranging for radio, TV, and newspaper interviews.

Svejda's efforts soon began to pay off, as the Park Service acquired such items as a Croatian prayer book printed circa 1895, an 80-year-old Armenian wedding dress, a 300-year-old Czech Bible, and seven Japanese coins ranging in dates from 1706 to 1936. As these artifacts came in, it was Svejda's task to catalogue and store them until the museum was finally ready.[27]

As Svejda gathered objects for the exhibits, construction of the building to house those artifacts also proceeded. Both the architects from the EODC and Regional Director Lee found the interior of the new concrete shell, with the now exposed base of the statue, stark and dramatic. This led them to question whether the 1963 exhibit plan for the AMI made the best use of the site. On May 14, 1964, Lee wrote to the national director's office, "The new potentials now apparent in the exhibit hall of the AMI prompts us to suggest a restudy of the exhibit plan--not in content, but rather in dimensions and arrangement." For that purpose Lee suggested that they call a meeting at the statue in July to be attended by representatives from the Washington office; EODC, the region; the Statue of Liberty National Monument; and Floyd La Fayette, the designer of the 1963 plan.

A series of gatherings followed the one held in July, and out of them came the decision to redesign the layout in such a way as to utilize more effective, dramatic, and modern display techniques. Lee and the other conferees also concluded that they needed the help of commercial design firms. Thus, in the summer of 1966, the NPS signed the contract, discussed earlier, with Gart Urban, for redesign of the Statue of Liberty Story Room.

In July 1966, NPS also awarded a $21,300 contract to the industrial design firm of Walter Dorwin Teague Associates of New York, for redesign of the immigration museum. Teague Associates had provided exhibits for five pavilions at the 1964 World's Fair and designed a museum for the United States Military Academy at West Point. Robert Blood of Teague Associates took responsibility for the job. In the course of the work, Blood formed his own industrial design company, known as Quorum 5, and completed the contract under that name.

Blood made few changes in the content of the exhibits, except to cut the amount of written text. He also tried to highlight the colorful and unusual event or custom, without too much concern for preserving overall balance in the presentation. As Blood put it, he wanted to create something new and exciting, "not the old, stodgy museum idea." By January 1967, Blood and Alfred Stern, a writer for Teague Associates, had produced a preliminary script. In April, the NPS called a press conference at the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site at which Blood revealed the new plan to newspaper and television reporters, and other invited guests.[28]

Spokesmen for black-, Polish-, and Italian-Americans, members of Congress, and professional historians, some of them the same ones who had praised the 1958 Federal Hall exhibit and Pitkin's Prospectus, now denounced the Teague plan. What had happened? The content of the exhibits had not changed very much, but the climate of opinion in the country had. The civil rights movement had gathered increasing momentum. The demands of aroused blacks for equality and respect touched off heightened cultural consciousness in many other racial and ethnic minorities. Young blacks, Italians, Irish, Jews, Poles, and many others became intensely interested in discovering and celebrating their cultural roots, not simply as flavorings that had blended into a national melting pot (a concept never fully accepted by many ethnic Americans), but as a valuable and continuing heritage that had every right to survive indefinitely.

These changes in climate and opinion had also begun to influence the historical profession. The new history being written by the mid-1960s showed greater awareness of and sensitivity to the roles played by blacks, ethnic minorities, and even women in American history. By this point, most historians had abandoned the melting pot theory. As Robert Ernst, an expert on immigration history, summed it up, "The United States became more a salad bowl than a melting pot. Melting pot obscures the concept of cultural pluralism which many feel to be worth maintaining and defending."[29]

Actually, protest against the AMI exhibit plans began even before the unveiling of the Teague script. In August 1965, five temporary exhibits designed by the NPS's Eastern Museum Laboratory were installed inside the unfinished base of the statue. About the same time, Svejda wrote a letter describing the AMI exhibit sequence which was made public. He indicated that blacks would be presented in an exhibit on involuntary immigrants, with their story dramatized by a scale model of a slave ship. An indignant congressman, Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat-New York), charged that such treatment ignored the "fantastic cultural contributions of Negroes in this country." Powell called for the resignation of Svejda, whose employment would be an "insult...to America's 20,000,000 Negroes." Constance Baker Motley, the first black woman to serve as Manhattan borough president, also expressed concern, requesting a meeting with NYC NPS Group Superintendent Townsley which took place in October 1965.[30]

These initial criticisms were mild, however, compared to the barrage fired after the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace press conference. Early in June 1967, Dr. Eugene Kusielewicz, an expert on Polish-American history and vice president of the New York-based Kosciuszko Foundation, wrote a harsh evaluation of the Robert Blood plan, which he sent to the NYC NPS Group headquarters and also made public. "The primary philosophy governing the preparation of the SCRIPT," he charged, seemed to be the "presentation of that which is colorful or eye appealing, rather than that which would present an accurate and balanced picture of American immigration." He further declared that there was so little coverage of Italians and Poles that "...a visitor would leave the proposed museum with the impression that the two largest immigrant groups, presently in the United States, ...virtually do not exist." The Polish-American and Polish-American Journal carried front-page articles on Dr. Kusielewicz's criticisms and urged readers to make their complaints about the slighting of Polish-Americans to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

Polish groups and individuals were soon doing just that. The Polish-American Guardian Society of Chicago wrote to Udall complaing that, "the Polish people have been largely ignored." The Polish-American Council on Cultural Affairs of Buffalo made the same charge and urged Udall "to correct this omission." Other irate Polish-Americans wrote to their congressmen, which led, in turn, to letters and phone calls to Udall and the Department of the Interior from Senators Robert F. Kennedy (Democrat-New York), Harrison Williams (Democrat-New Jersey), Birch Bayh (Democrat-Indiana), and Frank Lausche (Democrat-Ohio) and Congressmen T. J. Dulski (Democrat-New

York), and Henry Helstoski (Democrat-New Jersey), among others. All stressed that Polish-Americans and their contributions to the United States must be adequately presented in the museum.

Meanwhile, two Italian-American congressmen, Frank Annunzio (Democrat-Illinois) and Peter Rodino (Democrat-New Jersey), took up the cudgels for their ethnic group. Rodino informed the Department of the Interior of his "deep concern" over the minor amount of material on Italian-Americans in the Robert Blood script. Annunzio wrote directly to the White House, as well as to the NPS, charging that not only were the Italian-Americans practically ignored, but what the Teague plan did highlight was ill-chosen. "There is more to the Italian contribution," he wrote, "than Italians who work in the vineyards of California and a fisherman enjoying an Italian dinner." Indeed, Annunzio added, "I would appreciate your deleting the entire text about spaghetti, eggplant, peppers, chianti, pizza, etc....I want to be associated with an exhibit that doesn't touch the stomach of people, but touches their hearts!"[31]

The NPS attempted to defuse the criticism in several ways. Assistant Director of Interpretation William Everhart wrote to the senators and congressmen who had registered their dissatisfaction, explaining that the Blood script was merely a preliminary exhibit study suggesting a display approach to be taken. During the summer and fall of 1967, Robert Blood's Quorum 5 firm would prepare a more detailed exhibit plan, based on solid research that would do justice to the contributions of all ethnic groups. Secretary Udall promised Congressman Dulski and others who had written on behalf of Polish-Americans that when Quorum 5 revised the plan, it would consult with Dr. Kusielewicz. The NPS assured Congressmen Annunzio and Rodino that the final exhibit scheme would deal with a wider range of Italian contributions, and the Service would present them with copies of the revised plan. This commitment was fulfilled on June 6, 1968, when Everhart met with Rodino and Annunzio to discuss the reworked Blood plan.

Alan E. Kent, now in the NPS' Washington office, stated that the section of the AMI dealing with black contributions would be reviewed by a leading black historian. The NPS asked John Hope Franklin to take on this assignment. He declined, but suggested in his place Dr. Elsie M. Lewis of Howard University. The Service consulted her and the AMI invited her to become a member of its Historians Committee.

As Robert Blood revised the script during the fall and winter of 1967-68, Everhart wrote to General Grant asking for his help in convening the AMI Historians Committee to evaluate the completed work. He also requested a contribution of $25,000 for an interim exhibition to be mounted in the unfinished interior of the statue's base in the spring of 1968. The AMI responded favorably to both requests.[32]

The interim exhibits were ready and installed before Quorum 5 had completed its final product. On May 17, 1968, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson arrived on Liberty Island to officiate at the opening. After remarks by NPS Director George B. Hartzog and Mrs. Johnson, the First Lady, using two pairs of scissors brought to the United States by immigrant tailors from Italy and Austria-Hungary, cut the ribbons strung across the entryway. Inside, the visitors saw pictures and displays that would become a part of the permanent AMI exhibits, as well as sketches illustrating how the museum would eventually look.

By June 1968, Blood had a revised plan ready to show the AMI historians. On the 21st, the committee met at the library of the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site. Dr. Pitkin, who had by then retired from the NPS, but was now a member of the AMI, Inc., chaired the gathering. Several other original members of the committee also attended, including Dr. John Krout, Francis S. Ronalds, Herbert E. Kahler, and William Baldwin. Among the newer recruits on the committee were Dr. Elsie Lewis and non-historians Alfred Horowitz and Viola Thomas, representing the AMI, Inc.; Dr. Alan Kent and Harold Peterson, NPS, Washington office; Frank Barnes, NPS, Northeast Regional Office; Jerry Wagers, NYC NPS Group; and Statue of Liberty Superintendent McClanahan.

Blood offered commentary on the revised script and showed slides of the proposed exhibits. When he left, Pitkin led a lively discussion and finally asked the members to further study the plan at home and send in written evaluations. He and Horowitz would summarize the proceedings and their written statements in a committee report.

Horowitz submitted that report to the NPS on March 27, 1969. It stated, "The exhibit plan for the American Museum of Immigration, prepared by Quorum 5 and presented to the Historians Committee of the AMI, cannot be approved without revision." The unit on Afro-Americans came in for the most criticism. The consensus seemed to be that "the contributions of this group prior to the

present time have been neglected." The report called for more material on free blacks in the pre-Civil War period. The midwest exhibit still slighted the roles of Italians, Poles, Jews, and other ethnic groups. The industrial expansion section should have included mention of additional immigrant groups. Immigrants from the Near East had been ignored. The report stated, "All identifiable immigrant groups should receive at least minimum treatment." Finally, some of the members questioned the whole melting pot approach and some disliked the amount of attention given to the role of immigrants in America's wars. The latter complaint may well have reflected the growing public unhappiness with the Vietnam war in which the country found itself embroiled at the time.[33]

Kent, Wagers, Barnes, Don Benson, and several others met on June 4, 1969, to discuss what should be done about the AMI historians' report. They agreed that the unit on Afro-Americans had to be expanded along the lines suggested and that the exhibits on the midwest and industrial expansion should have greater coverage of Italians, Poles, Jews, and all other appropriate immigrant groups. However, most of them felt the exhibit plan "still needed the 'Melting Pot' idea," although "there was some disagreement about this." They disagreed with the contention that there was too much emphasis on war, and voted to keep the six exhibits devoted to the subject.

Following this and several more meetings, Kent headed an Interpretative Planning Group, headquartered at Harpers Ferry, which undertook revision of the script within the framework of the Quorum 5 exhibit layout. He, along with NPS Curator David Wallace and NPS Designer James Mulcahy, worked closely with Dr. Lewis on making the necessary additions and corrections to the exhibit on black Americans. The planning group increased coverage of the Poles by introducing Casimir Pulaski, Tadeusz Koscuiszko, and Haym Salomon in the American Revolution exhibit; including General Wladimir Krzyzanowski and the Polish Brigade in the Civil War display; and mentioning the achievements of Wanda Landowska and Arthur Szyk, among others. They found room for more photographs and artifacts pertaining to Italians and Jews as well.[34]

The planning group completed its revisions by 1971, and on August 25 the AMI Historians Committee convened in New York. Many of the persons attending had also been present at the 1968 meeting. They were now joined by two well-known experts on immigration history: Professor Oscar Handlin of Harvard and Professor John Higham of Johns Hopkins. Superintendent Jim Batman and Edward

Kallop, who has been appointed curator of the museum the month before, represented the STLI NM. Also present to answer questions about their text and receive suggestions were Kent, Wallace, and Mulcahy.

Jerry Wagers attempted to forestall serious criticism of the plan with an opening statement suggesting that "the time factor [target date for museum completion was March 1972] necessitates a factual review not a major revision." This introduction may explain why the committee gave its approval to the plan, though some of those present still felt unhappy about various parts of it. Dr. Lewis again objected to what she saw as an overemphasis on war, especially relating to black contributions. Horowitz and Pitkin observed that all of the artifacts in the Jewish section were of a religious nature. Several participants pointed to an almost complete neglect of Mexican, French-Canadian, and other inter-American immigrants, as well as skimpy coverage of Asian-Americans. John Higham voiced his frustrations with the proceedings, declaring, "I have basic reservations about the concept of immigration in the museum, but there is no point in discussing it." Following the committee's acquiescence, Northeast Regional Director Chester L. Brooks approved the final text, and the museum laboratory at Harpers Ferry went into full production of displays and labels.[35]

If the NPS thought it had weathered the storms of criticism and now all would be smooth sailing, it soon learned otherwise. One member of the Historians Committee who had received the text, but had not been present at the August 25 meeting, felt very strongly about what he read. On September 7, 1971, Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli, director of the Center for Immigration Studies at the University of Minnesota, sent a long critical analysis of the plan to Dave Wallace and other members of the committee. Vecoli's letter reflected the many changes in emphasis and interpretation that the historical profession had adopted between the 1950s, when the museum exhibits were first conceived, and the early 1970s. He blasted the melting pot approach, the theme of "immigrant contributions," and the extensive treatment given to the "Old Immigration " (pre-1890) at the expense of the "New" (post-1890).

In the ferment of the 1960s, political radicals often accused historians of writing primarily about the doings of those on top, while ignoring the daily lives of average men and women. By the late sixties, many historians, sensitive about these charges, were attempting to write about the past "from the bottom up." Reflecting this new mode, Vecoli stated, "The meaning of American immigration

...is that it was a folk movement of unprecedented dimensions, that it involved millions of ordinary people.... This central truth is obscured by the Museum's emphasis on the elite...of the few who won fame and fortune...." He felt the museum should show the immigrants at work, at school, in their churches, and should tell the story of the labor unions they built. He further contended that the treatment of Italian immigration was still "totally inadequate" and the role of women in immigration was ignored. In the growing anti-war spirit of the early 1970s, Vecoli expressed astonishment that six of thirty exhibits were devoted to wars. Merge them into one, he advised, and "free much needed space to depict the many facets of the immigrant experience which are presently omitted."

When Wallace replied to the letter by saying it was now too late for a "total refocusing" of the exhibit plan, Vecoli began to mobilize ethnic community leaders. He contacted heads of Polish, Italian, Jewish, and other organizations and directed two meetings, one in New York on October 25 and the other in Chicago on November 21, to discuss flaws in the proposed museum. It was decided at the New York meeting to seek an appointment with Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton. On October 27, Casimir I. Lenard, executive director of the Polish American Congress, wrote to Morton demanding such a meeting. He told Morton that, if this request were denied, these ethnic representatives would be "compelled...to direct a nationwide campaign against the Museum concept." Lenard warned, "this matter could well become a political issue in an election year."[36]

J. E. N. "Joe" Jensen, associate director of Professional Services for the NPS, contacted Lenard at once, indicating that before he and his delegation met with Morton, the NPS wanted to arrange a conference between them and NPS historians and interpretative personnel in New York. The NPS people could then present a detailed account of the displays and layouts, and conduct them on a tour of the museum premises. Lenard accepted the invitation, and the briefing took place on November 8.

On that morning, delegates from the Polish-American Congress, the Koscuiszko Foundation, the Polish Daily News, the American Italian Historical Association, and the American Jewish Committee showed up at Federal Hall and listened to Wagers, Wallace, and Pitkin present a history and defense of nearly twenty years of exhibit planning. Lenard's group was not impressed. One after another they repeated Vecoli's criticisms. Wallace, Wagers, and Pitkin claimed that it was too late to make extensive changes for

the exhibits were already in production and the March 1972 opening was rapidly approaching. The ethnic representatives told them to delay the opening until the changes were made.

Mobilized by Vecoli, these groups then asked Congressman Annunzio to help them arrange a further discussion at the Department of the Interior. On December 13, the delegation, now personally headed by Vecoli, met with Richard C. Curry, special assistant in the Department. They agreed that Vecoli would present his objections to the AMI Historians Committee, which would consider the requested changes. Panels composed of ethnic representatives and academics would then review the final plan and have a private showing of the exhibits that were being installed at Liberty Island. Curry also told Horowitz, in a follow-up letter, that the museum would not be dedicated until the review had occurred and some accord was reached."[37]

On March 16, 1972, with the exhibits almost all in place and the museum looking quite ready to open, the critical review took place. Vecoli was joined by a distinguished group of scholars, including Oscar Handlin and Moses Rischin of Harvard; Victor Greene, University of Wisconsin; David Rothman of Columbia; Robert Ernst of Adelphi; and John Appel of Michigan State.[38] The representatives of various ethnic groups were also present: Kusielewicz of the Kosciuszko Foundation; the Reverend S. Tomasi of the American Italian Historical Association; Irving Levine of the American Jewish Congress; and others. Led by Wagers and John Bond, chief of interpretation at STLI NM, all review groups toured the museum. Afterwards they assembled at Federal Hall, where Vecoli led a discussion about what they had seen.

The main points made at that gathering, plus written comments that the participants submitted later, were compiled in a report, which the AMI, Inc., forwarded to the NPS on March 30. The report repeated that criticisms made earlier by Vecoli, adding that the "concluding exhibit is weak and lacking in inspiration." The document went on to list many proposed changes, such as increased coverage of post-World War II immigration, the development of exhibits on French-Canadian, Mexican, Caribbean, and Filipino immigration; written identification labels for all photographs in the museum, especially those in the Heartland Festivals exhibit, and more emphatic treatment of the landmark 1965 Immigration Act. Realizing that the NPS could not make all of the revisions immediately, the historians specified that certain of the more important ones should be made before dedication of the museum. The remainder of the flaws should be corrected as soon as possible.

The report placed the following on its immediate change list: 1) Remove the World War I "Lost Battalion" exhibit and replace it with displays on immigrant religions other than Jewish, which was already covered in a separate unit. 2) Change the title of the "From the Old Empires" exhibit to something more acceptable and make clear distinctions among the ethnic groups from Russia and Austria, such as Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, etc. Also, add more Polish artifacts. 3) Eliminate all references to the melting pot and give more adequate recognition to Italian and Greek immigration. 4) Redo the "Refuge from Tyranny" exhibit, eliminating the Norden bombsight, and the pictures of a bombed city and of Nazi bookburning. "The emphasis should be on the immigrants not the Nazis." 5) Revise and modify the "summation" in the final exhibit. 6) Check all labels, picture captions, and audio tapes for accuracy.

During April and May 1972, Jerry Wagers; Northeast Regional Director Brooks; Russel Hendrickson, chief of the Division of Museums; and others reviewed and commented on the historians' report. On May 15 they reached a final decision on how to proceed and notified Horowitz, the members of the historians' panel, the ethnic group representatives, and concerned senators and congressmen of their intentions.

They would remove the "Lost Battalion" exhibit, and in its place display "general immigrant objects relating to the period 1900 to 1920." They would choose items that particularly strengthened Italian and Greek representation. They declined to deal with immigrant religions, fearing that to do so would create still more controversy. They pointed out that the terms "From the Old Empires" and the "Melting Pot" were used only for identification on the exhibit plan, but never appeared in the museum. Therefore, they were already removed. At least one more Polish artifact would be added. They agreed to remove the photograph of the bombed city, but the Norden bombsight would remain. The Nazi bookburning photo mural would also be retained with small photographs superimposed on the surface to illustrate refugees fleeing Nazi and Fascist terror. More emphasis would be given to the displaced persons program following World War II and to the 1965 Immigration Act. All labels would be rechecked for accuracy.

The NPS group realized the shortcomings of the summary exhibit, but claimed they had neither the time nor the money to redesign the room before dedicating the museum.

That would have to be accomplished after the opening. Many of the other suggestions in the report also were to be handled once the facility was in operation.[39]

The NPS response left Vecoli bitterly disappointed. In a letter to Wagers, dated June 7, copies of which he mailed to ethnic leaders and various congressmen and senators, the Minnesota professor complained that the promised changes "would only partially correct some of the more blatant" flaws. He noted that the NPS gave no clear indication of what further revisions it would make after opening, nor did it offer any timetable for implementing these. "I must conclude," he wrote, "that our efforts to bring about a redesign of the Museum by weight of scholarly opinion have failed."

Wagers sent a reply to Vecoli and those who had received copies of his letter. The tone was conciliatory, but Wagers said the NPS would stick to the decisions announced on May 15. Wagers' answer did not silence the complaints. Minnesota Senator Walter Mondale (Democrat) wrote to the Department of the Interior that summer. Just days before the museum's dedication, Casimir Lenard of the Polish-American Congress was still petitioning the White House to intercede with the NPS for further changes, and Sargent Shriver, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in that election year, telegraphed a protest to Secretary of the Interior Morton, repeating all of Vecoli's complaints.

Despite the continuing controversy, the NPS pushed ahead with its plans. Curator Ed Kallop, STLI NM Chief of Interpretation John Bond, and designer Jim Mulcahy searched for the photographs and artifacts necessary for the revisions and wrote the additional label copy. On June 7, the NPS signed a $3,500 contract with Walker/Grad, a New York firm, for designing and installing the new displays. The AMI, Inc., donated the money to cover the costs. By mid-August all was finished, and the NPS and AMI, Inc., waited eagerly to hear from the White House about when President Richard M. Nixon would be available to come to Liberty Island to dedicate the facility.[40]

NOTES

[1]This committee had been established in 1956 as the main body through which the NPS and officials of the AMI, Inc., would consult on matters concerning the museum. See Chapter 2, p. 31.

[2]In the 1950s, architectural plans and building projects of NPS in the eastern part of the United States were handled through this office. It later divided into the Washington and Philadelphia Planning and Service Centers. These two subsequently reconsolidated under the name Eastern Service Center. Eventually, all building projects were handled by merged Eastern and Western Service Centers, then referred to as the Denver Service Center.

[3]AMI News, June 1955; "Operation Unity: Statue of Liberty, U.S.A.," Duplicates File, Artifact Room; N. H. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1956; Report of Meeting of NPS and AMI, April 3, 1957, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3, Artifact Room.

[4]N. H. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November 1957; N. H. Foster to Supervising Architect, EODC, January 13, 1958; John B. Cabot to N. H. Foster, January 28, 1958, AMI--1958 File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room; Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint Development Committee, AMI, January 9, 1958, AMI Estimated Cost of Construction, The Proposed American Museum of Immigration, STLI NM, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3.

[5]Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Executive Committee, October 1, 1958, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3; Minutes of the Joint Development Committee Meeting, October 1, 1958, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1958 File, Storage Area; Minutes of the Joint Development Committee Meeting, December 3, 1958, AMI 1958-July-December Museum Exhibit Activities, Drawer 6.

[6]Edward S. Zimmer to Director C. Wirth, February 5, 1959, D6215, Duplicates File; C. Wirth to A. Hamilton, March 27, 1959, AMI 1959, 60, 61 Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Minutes of the AMI Executive Committee Meeting, October 10, 1961, Duplicates File; A. Hamilton to Ronald F. Lee, January 27, 1961, AMI 1959, 60, 61 Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Robert E. Smith,

Chief Architect, Division of Design and Construction, to Regional Director, May 24, 1961, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities 1959-63 (AMI) File, Storage Area.

[7]Eventually, change orders brought the total contract figure to $1,055,750.

[8]Contract No. 14-10-0529-1122; N. H. Foster, Supt's. Monthly Narrative Report, November 1961 and December 1961; Chief Architect R. E. Smith to Superintendent., STLI NM, April 20, 1962, AMI-STLI NM 1962 File, Drawer 6, Foster, Supt's. Monthly Narrative Report, May 1962; New York Times, June 20, 1962; New York World-Telegram and Sun, June 20, 1962; Pre-advertisement of Invitation for Bids, March 26, 1962, AMI 1962 (General) Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; U.S. Dept. of Interior News Release, June 23, 1962, AMI 1962 (General) Mus. Exhib. Act.; Contract No. 14-100529-1124; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, June 1962 and July 1962.

[9]New York Times, October 29, 1962; New York Herald Tribune, October 29, 1962; New York Journal-American, October 28, 29, 1962; New York World Telegram, October 27, 1962; Press Release of NYC National Shrines Advisory Board and the AMI, Mr. A. Hamilton File, Drawer 3.

[10]Foster, Supterintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December 1962; David O. Smith, project supervisor to Supt., STLI NM, December 31, 1962, Appeal of Peter Reiss Construction Company, Inc. File, Drawer 2, Artifact Room; Minutes of the AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, November 7, 1963, AMI (Association) File, Drawer 2; Eileen Wirt, "Unique Honor for Auxiliary," The National Bulletin, December 1964, pp. 6-7, 16.

[11]Contract No. 14-10-0529 1141, J. H. Townsely, Supt. NYC-NPS Group, Monthly Narrative Report, July 1965; NPS Press Release, April 10, 1964, RE: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31, Artifact Room; Lester F. McClanahan, Supt., Monthly Narrative Report, April 1965; Minutes of the AMI Board of Trustees Meeting, November 12, 1964, RE: 1964 Annual Meeting File, Drawer 31.

[12]The sum was later increased to $1,099,889.

[13]Among the subcontractors were the following firms: granite and limestone work--S. Pizzuliello and Co., Inc., aluminum--Utility Brass and Bronze, plastering--S. & B. Plastering Contractors, Inc., laying carpet--Circle Floor Co., entrance--Charles Brandin, Inc., ceramic tile--J. & J.

Tile Co., plumbing--Zachary Plumbing and Heating, Inc., heating--C.D.E. Air Conditioning Co., electrical--Mainpower & Electric Wiring Corporation.

[14]William C. Everhart, Assistant Director, Interpretation to U. S. Grant, November 30, 1967, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2, Artifact Room; L. F. McClanahan, assistant superintendent, to Harriet L. Holt, April 3, 1968, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities, AMI 1968 File, Storage Area; Chief of Design and Construction, Phil. Planning and Service Center to Superintendent., Fire Island and NYC NPS Group, September 26, 1967 and Invitation for Bids, D52, American Museum of Immigration IFB#D & C-15-A68 File; Drawer 1, Artifact Room; Chief Design and Construction to Chief Eastern Museum Laboratory, November 29, 1967, AMI IFB #D & C-15-A68 File; George A. Palmer, acting regional director, to Chief Design and Construction, December 18, 1967, AMI IFB # D & C-15-A68 File; The Kansas City Star, July 30, 1969; Superintendent, Fire Island and NYC NPS Group to Regional Director, Northeast Region, February 10, 1969, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2; Notice of Beginning Date, January 23, 1968, Statue of Liberty File, Drawer 5, Artifact Room; Contract No. 14-10-7-981-41, December 15, 1967, Statue of Liberty File, Drawer 5.

[15]Memorandum from Alan E. Kent, acting chief, Eastern Museum Laboratory, to Superintendent, NYC NPS Grp., May 4, 1966, and George J. Svejda, historian, to Gart Urban, May 9, 1966, AMI 1966: January-June Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room; "The American Museum of Immigration - When?," History of the AMI File, Drawer 2, Artifact Room; U.S. Department of Interior, NPS Press Release, February 20, 1970.

[16]This estimate was probably based too heavily on costs in phase IV and did not adequately take into account inflation.

[17]L. McClanahan, assistant superintendent, to Superintendent NYC NPS Group, January 22, 1969, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2; Le Roy R. Brown, director, ESC, to Associate Director, Professional Services, January 29, 1971, D62, Museum Activities AMI 1971 File, Storage Area; L. R. Brown to Director NPS, July 1, 1971 and attached supporting documents, AMI STLI NM File, Drawer 5.

[18]The companies with which the NPS signed contracts included: preparation of floor surfaces--M. Goodwin Concrete Corporation, New York City, $9,559; mechanical work--Designed Weather, Inc., Island Park, New York, $60,344; museum wall

systems, cases--Presentations South, Inc., Orlando, Florida, revised completion date resulted in adjustment in contract price to $336,024; electrical--Mansfield Contracting Corporation, Flushing, New York $142,830; acoustical tile ceilings--Robert J. Harder, Inc., Rockville Centre, New York, $25,038; general construction--M.T.F. Industries, Little Neck, New York, $54,600. See Jerry D. Wagers, AMI Progress Reports Nos. 1 through 3, AM-STLI NM File, Drawer 5.

[19]L. R. Brown to Director NPS, July 1, 1971, AMI-STLI NM File, Drawer 5; Wagers, AMI Progress Reports Nos. 1 through 8, July 1971 to March 16, 1972, AMI-STLI NM File; J.E.N. Jensen to Spyros P. Skouras, August 3, 1971, AMI-STLI NM File; Grant A. Cadwallader, Jr., Weekly Field Reports, AMI-STLI NM File; New York Daily News, October 3, 1971.

[20]The name AMI Historians Committee is somewhat misleading since, from the start, many of its members were not professionally trained historians. The committee was created by the AMI, Inc., in 1955, to advise the Joint Development Committee on the themes and content of museum exhibits. Its members were chosen by AMI, Inc., either on its own or on the advice of NPS officials. During its nearly-20-year existence, the Historians Committee saw many changes in membership. Originally, it included such well-known scholars as John A. Krout, Oscar Handlin, Allan Nevins, and Carl Wittke. It also included members of the NPS who were trained as historians, such as Dr. Francis S. Ronalds, Ronald F. Lee, and, later, Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin, as well as one NPS official who was not, Newell Foster. At all stages, the Historians Committee contained members from the AMI, Inc., who were not historians: William H. Baldwin, Alexander Hamilton, Alfred Horowitz, and Viola Thomas, to name a few. Meanwhile, professional historians having specialties in black, ethnic, and immigration history came and went over the 20-year period. Examples include Elsie Lewis (black history), John Higham (immigration history), and Rudolph J. Vecoli (immigration studies).

[21]Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Museum Committee, June 9, 1954, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activity (AMI) 1954 File, Storage Area.

[22]Minutes of the Meeting of the AMI Historians' Committee, March 22, 1956, Duplicates File, Artifact Room.

[23]Pitkin, Prospectus for the American Museum of Immigration, pp. 2, 4, 5, 6, Duplicates File.

[24]Resolution passed by the AMI Executive Committee at its Meeting, October 9, 1956, Duplicates File; Conrad Wirth to Alexander Hamilton, November 11, 1956, AMI 1956 File, Drawer 6, Artifact Room; AMI Newsletter and Draft of AMI News Release--Alden Stevens, AMI 1957 Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; N. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, February, June, July 1957; Report of Meeting of NPS and AMI, April 3, 1957, A-42, AMI National Committee 1954-56 File, Drawer 3, Artifact Room. Pitkin, Notes on the AMI Exhibit Planning Meeting, November 12, 1957, AMI 1957 Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6.

[25]Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, January, May, July, September, October, December 1958 and January 1959; T. Pitkin to John H. Franklin, July 7, 1958, AMI 1958, July-Dec., Museum Exhibit File, Drawer 6; John A. Krout to Pitkin, July 23, 1958, Duplicates File; Comments of A. M. Schlesinger, August 24, 1958,Robert Ernst, September 16, 1958 and others, AMI 1958, July-December, Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; J. H. Franklin, October 20, 1958, Rowland T. Berthoff, October 1, 1958, Daniel J. Tobin, September 24, 1958, Floyd A. La Fayette, July 22, 1958, Critical Comments and Suggestions File, Drawer 3; Pitkin to Ron Lee, July 28, 1958 and Pitkin and Stevens to N. Foster, July 28, 1958, AMI 1958, July-December, Drawer 6; Pitkin to Charles G. Beetem, October 27, 1959, AMI 1959, 60, 61 Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6.

[26]Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1961; Memo, A. Stevens to Director, History Branch, October 7, 1958, AMI 1958, July-December File, Drawer 6; Memo, Acting Regional Director G. A. Palmer to Chief, EODC, October 4, 1962, AMI 1962 (General) Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Ralph Lewis to Regional Director, Region 5, June 15, 1962, AMI 1962 (General) File; Pitkin to Regional Director, May 28, 1962, AMI 1962 (General) File; Master Plan STLI NM, April 1962, STLI NM Master Plan File, Drawer 1, Artifact Room; Floyd La Fayette to V. S. Thomas, August 6, 1963, AMI 1963; July-December File, Drawer 6; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, January, May, July 1962; AMI, Chronology of Exhibit Plan Review, Correspondence (AMI) Beginning 3/72 File, Drawer 2.

[27]Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, May, August 1962, April 1963; Svejda to Holland Society of New York, Svejda to Huguenot Society of America, 1963, and many others; Planning, Preparation, Main and Pre-Museum Exhibits File, Drawer 6; Request for Cultural Objects of Polish Immigrants for the AMI and many other requests, Planning, Preparation, Main and Pre-Museum Exhibits File;

Svejda to National Greek Tribune, Chinese Times, Armenian Mirror-Spectator, Byelorussian Youth, and many other newspapers, Planning, Preparation...File; Appeal and article by Svejda in Hairenik Weekly, July 8, 1965; Other letters and appeals, AMI-STLI NM, 1962 File, Drawer 6; Svejda, Notes on My Trip to Chicago, April 23, 1965, AMI 1965; January-June Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Svejda, List of Artifacts Acquired, Planning, Preparation. File; Svejda, Notes On my Activities, May 28, 1965, AMI 1965: January-June, Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Svejda to Acting Supervisory Historian, New York City Area, June 1-30, 1966, Duplicates File; New York Times, June 2, 1966.

[28]Memo from Acting Regional Director Palmer to Chief, EODC, April 17, 1964; R. Lee to NPS Director, May 14, 1964; Acting Assistant Director, Operations, William Everhart to Northeast Regional Director, Chief EODC, and Superintendent NYC NPS Group, December 3, 1964; Lee to Director, December 9, 1964; Townsely to Lee, December 11, 1964, AMI-STLI NM 1963 File, Drawer 6; United States Department of Interior, NPS, News Release, July 4, 1966, AMI 1966; July-December Museum Exhibit Activities File, Drawer 6; Alfred Stern and Robert J. Blood Preliminary Script AMI, NPS, Department of the Interior, January 27, 1967, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 3; Newark Evening News, April 20, 1967; Superintendent NYC NPS Group Henry G. Schmidt, Invitation to Press Conference; Visitors Present at AMI Presentation, April 19, 1967, AMI Preliminary Plan Presentation 4/19/67 File, Drawer 2; The Jersey Journal, April 20, 1967, Newark Star-Ledger, April 20, 1967.

[29]Robert Ernst to William Everhart, Assistant Director, Interpretation, June 26, 1968, Museum and Exhibit Activities Planning Cooperative Agreement AMI 1968 File, Drawer 6.

[30]L. F. McClanahan, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August 1965; Townsley, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, October 1965; Washington Post, September 26, 1965.

[31]E. Kusielewicz, Observations on the Proposal for the Museum of Immigration, Duplicates File; Polish-American, June 17, 1967; Polish-American Journal, July 8, 1967; L. Jarzab, president, Polish-American Guardian Society, to S. Udall, June 19, 1967; W. M. Drzewieuiecki, president, Polish-American Council on Cultural Affairs, to S. Udall, July 7, 1967, 1967 Criticisms and Replies File, Drawer 2; AMI, Chronology of Exhibit Plan Review, Correspondence (AMI) Beginning 3/72 File, Drawer 2; W. C. Everhart to Peter Rodino, Peter Rodino to Robert C. Mc Connell, Assistant to the Secretary for Congressional Liaison, Department

of Interior, July 12, 1967; Frank Annunzio to C. P. Montgomery, Assistant Director, NPS, July 11, 1967, Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Special Assistant to the President, to Frank Annunzio, July 17, 1967 and Califano to Secretary Udall, July 17, 1967, Duplicates File.

[32]Everhart to Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., August 2, 1967, Duplicates File; Alan E. Kent, Report on American Museum of Immigration Design Scheme Complaints, August 1, 1967, 1967 Criticisms and Replies File, Drawer 2; Kent, Decisions on AMI, September 13, 1967, Duplicates File; Everhart to Frank Annunzio, May 3, 1968, Everhart to Peter Rodino, Jr., June 13, 1968, Museum and Exhibit Activities Planning Cooperative Agreement AMI 1968 File, Drawer 6; Everhart to U.S. Grant, November 30, 1967, Henry G. Schmidt, Superintendent Fire Island and NYC NPS Group, to Director NERO, December 11, 1967, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2.

[33]The American Museum of Immigration, Opening of the Interim Exhibits, May 17, 1968, Duplicates File: New York Times, May 18, 1968; Minutes of the Historians Committee of the AMI, June 21, 1968, Duplicates File; A. Horowitz to W. C. Everhart, May 27, 1969 and Report of the AMI Historians Committee on the Exhibit Plan for the American Museum of Immigration, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1968 File, Storage Area; Robert Ernst to Everhart, June 26, 1968, Museum and Exhibit Activities Planning Cooperative Agreement AMI 1968 File, Drawer 6.

[34]Memo, Alan E. Kent to Assistant Director, Interpretation, June 9, 1969, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activities (AMI) 1968 File, Storage Area; Kent to Elsie Lewis, November 24, 1969, American Museum of Immigration File, Drawer 2; Breakdown prepared for Jerry Wagers, December 9, 1971, Duplicates File.

[35]Minutes of the Meeting of the Historians Committee, American Museum of Immigration, August 25, 1971, Duplicates File; American Museum of Immigration, Chronology of Exhibit Plan Review, Correspondence (AMI) Beginning 3/72 File, Drawer 2.

[36]Rudolph J. Vecoli to David H. Wallace, September 7, 1971 and Wallace to Vecoli, September 27, 1971, Duplicates File; Andrew T. Kopan, "Museum of Immigration Opening Held Setback," Boston Hellenic Chronicle, December 16, 1971; Casimir I. Lenard to Rogers C. B. Morton, October 27, 1971, American Museum of Immigration Exhibit Plan File, Drawer 2.

[37]J.E.N. Jensen to Jane Life, Office of the Secretary, November 4, 1971, AMI-STLI NM File, Drawer 5; Minutes of the Meeting Between NPS and Delegation Headed by Casimir I. Lenard, November 8, 1971, Federal Hall, Duplicates File; Fra Noi, January 1972; Richard C. Curry to Director Hartzog, December 17, 1971, AMI Special Groups Inactive File, AMI Curator's Files; Curry to A. Horowitz, February 7, 1972, Duplicates File.

[38]Professors Green and Appel were members of the Immigration History Group, a society of some 400 scholars engaged in research and teaching in migration and ethnic studies. In January 1972, that group had sent to Secretary Morton a resolution condemning the exhibit plans for the museum and calling for review by recognized scholars in the field of American Immigration.

[39]AMI, Status Report, March 23, 1972, AMI Exhibit Plan and Inquiries from Historians File, Drawer 2; AMI Trustees to NPS, March 30, 1972, Recommendations of the American Museum of Immigration Historians Committee-March 16, 1972, Duplicates File; Meeting Historians Committee, Federal Hall-March 16, 1972, A Review and Critique of the American Museum of Immigration at the Statue of Liberty National Monument, American Museum of Immigration (Association) File, Drawer 2; AMI Historians Review Committee Report and NPS Response, Duplicates File; Wagers to A. Horowitz, May 16, 1972, Duplicates File; Wagers to Museum Branch, HFC, April 14, 1972, American Museum of Immigration Exhibit Plan and Inquiries from Historians File, Drawer 2; Wagers to Hendrickson, Chief, Division of Museums, HFC, April 28, 1972, Duplicates File; Wagers to Vecoli and other review committee members, May 16, 1972, and Wagers to Senator Jacob Javits and other Senators, Wagers to Annunzio and other congressmen, May 16, 1972, AMI Exhibit Plan and Inquiries from Historians File, Drawer 2.

[40]R. Vecoli to J. Wagers, June 7, 1972, and Wagers to Vecoli, June 21, 1972, AMI Special Groups-Inactive File, AMI Curator's Files; Acting Director of New York District to Walter F. Mondale, August 2, 1972, D6215, Museum and Exhibit Activities 1972 File, Storage Area, C. I. Lenard to Michael Balzano, White House, September 23, 1972, AMI (Associations) File, Drawer 2; telegram, Sargent Shriver to Secretary R.C.B. Morton, September 23, 1972, AMI Exhibit Plan and Inquiries from Historians File, Drawer 2; Superintendent James F. Batman to Director, New York District, Progress Report on AMI Revisions, June 2, 1972, AMI Exhibit Plan and Historians Inquiries File, Drawer 2; Wagers to A. Horowitz, June 14, 1972, Correspondence (AMI)

Beginning 3/72 File, Drawer 2; Contract Walker/Grad and Department of Interior, NPS, June 7, 1972, Correspondence (AMI) Beginning 3/72 File; Wagers to Director NERO, October 27, 1972, AMI (Associations) File; Wagers to Director NERO, June 15, 1972, AMI Revisions Prior to Opening (1972) File, AMI Curator's Files.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF IMMIGRATION, 1972 - 1982

After twenty years of planning, fund-raising, controversies and agreements, both the NPS and the AMI, Inc., wanted to open the museum of immigration with fanfare and gala ceremonies. In June 1972, Jerry Wagers, director of the New York District, wrote to Alfred Horowitz, chairman of the Executive Committee of the AMI, Inc., suggesting that they sit down together to work out details concerning the dedication: speakers, activities, guest lists, press releases.

They would soon have a third partner, however, in the staging of the event. President Richard M. Nixon, who had been vice president when the museum project was first proposed and who had long supported it, agreed to be the guest of honor and the principal speaker. The Republicans undoubtedly saw the political advantage in participating in such an event just weeks before the 1972 election. From Washington came word that the White House wanted to set September 26 as the date for the dedication. This coincided with the first leg of the President's coast-to-coast campaign trip.

Nixon, according to the New York Daily News, had been making "a strong pitch...for the ethnic vote which usually goes to the Democrats." With that strategy in mind, the Republicans turned the ceremonies into what the News described as "an ethnic festival." The audience of roughly 3,000 on Liberty Island that day was composed of first- and second-generation Americans, some in the costumes of their former homelands. The Republican National Committee and the New York Committee to Reelect the President issued invitations to thousands of Roman Catholic parochial school and Jewish yeshiva children, their parents, and teachers. When President Nixon and his party (Mrs. Nixon, Secretary of Interior Morton, Governors Nelson Rockefeller of New York and William T. Cahill of New Jersey, and Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd) alighted from their helicopter in mid-afternoon, four little girls,

dressed in the costumes of Italy, Germany, Poland, and the Ukraine, presented the First Lady with a bouquet.[1]

Nixon and his companions took a brief tour of the exhibits and then the speeches began. First came du Pont, who used the opportunity to extol the unique relationship between private citizens (led by the AMI, Inc.) and the government, which had made the museum possible. He paid tribute to three AMI trustees who had not lived to see this culmination of their dream: Ulysses S. Grant, III, Hamilton, and Spyros Skouras. Mindful of the heated criticisms of Vecoli and company, du Pont said the museum was "not completed." Changing exhibits and special events would be planned to pay tribute to every ethnic group. Next, Secretary Morton spoke briefly and introduced the President.

As Nixon began to speak, the only discordant note in the proceedings was struck. A dozen anti-Vietnam War demonstrators attempted to interrupt him with shouts of "Stop the bombing" as they waved signs reading "Stop the War." Administration supporters in the crowd chanted back "Four More Years." Nixon, who frequently accused the media of paying more attention to the dissident minority than the "silent majority," called toward the camera crews, "Thank you ladies and gentlemen. I would only suggest that on your television screen tonight in addition to showing the six there [pointing to the protestors], let's show the thousands that are over here."

After the NPS police hustled away the demonstrators, the President continued in a vein he must have sensed would please his audience. The immigrants celebrated in the museum, he declared, "believed in hard work. They didn't come here for a handout. They came here for an opportunity and they built America. I have found," he added, that "when it comes to patriotism, those who came to America from other lands are in the forefront."[2]

When dedication day and its politics were over, the press and the public finally got their turn to visit the new museum and evaluate what they saw and heard there. The reviews in the newspapers were, for the most part, favorable. A columnist in the Baltimore Sun wrote that the American Museum of Immigration offered a fascinating treatment of the subject and was "a marvel of ethnic balance....The Models of the slave ships with cutaways of the holds...is a lurid exhibit that will bring shivers to free men." From the New York Daily News came the comment, "The United States' newest museum in the base of the Statue of Liberty is simply wow! I was fascinated by

a blown-up facsimile of an indenture paper which had to be like the one signed by...my great-great-great-great-great grandfather." A Long Island Newsday reporter singled out the life-sized figures of immigrants dressed in their native clothing "as vivid and colorful," while a New York Times journalist found "most dramatic of all are spectacular photographs of old newspaper pictures blown up so they stretch from the floor to the ceiling. The most arresting one is of Mulberry Street on the Lower East Side."

There were, on the other hand, some bitingly critical commentaries. Rose De Wolf, in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, asked, "What was the big rush to open this travesty? The overall impression you get there is that there are two ways to prove yourself as an American--one is to become rich and famous and the other--not as good --is to die in a war. Women and children, needless to say, are rarely in view. Poor Miss Liberty. What a dirty trick to hide this under her skirt."[3]

And what about the more than one million persons who visited Liberty Island each year? How did they react? During the first twelve months after the new facility opened, approximately 650,000 or a little less than half of those visitors found their way into the museum. The figures did not change much for the remainder of the decade, ranging between approximately 600,000 and 700,000 viewers per year, about 50 percent of those arriving on Liberty Island. As one staff member put it, climbing to the statue's crown was still the tourist's chief goal. "The museum will probably always be a secondary attraction...."

In April and May 1973, a student intern conducted an informal survey of visitor use to learn more about the response of those who did make their way into the museum. The survey indicated that the average time the viewer took to go through the exhibits was 17.9 minutes and estimated that a comprehensive look at the museum (reading all captions, listening to the audios, seeing the films) would take sixty to ninety minutes. (However, few visitors to any museum read all the captions.) Most of the comments overheard were favorable, with people seemingly most impressed by the professional design and color. Viewers seemed generally to show the greatest interest in the exhibits pertaining to their own ethnic group. At least some persons appeared to be emotionally touched. One wrote in a letter to the Daily News, "A visit to the new American Museum of Immigration...rekindled memories of the happiest moments of my life...when I arrived from Russia on September 20, 1920."[4]

Even if most liked what they saw, the NPS could not forget that a group of scholars in the field of immigration and some ethnic leaders had been extremely critical. To satisfy their objections to the exhibit plan, Jerry Wagers, Russ Hendrickson, Chester Brooks, and others, had drawn up a list of revisions back in May 1972 that would be made before the dedication, and others that would be attended to after the opening. The NPS now returned to that commitment. The first step was to seek further advice from museum specialists. Dr. Ernest A. Connally, associate director, Professional Services, NPS, invited Dr. Paul N. Perrot of the Smithsonian; George Bowditch, curator of the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum; David Scott, consultant, National Gallery of Art; Dr. Walter J. Heacock, Hagley Museum director; and Charles Guggenheim, Guggenheim Productions, Inc., to visit the AMI and make recommendations concerning the content and presentation of the exhibits.

That group toured the museum on December 14, 1972, in the company of Wagers, AMI Curator Kallop, and STLI NM Superintendent Batman, and during the next six weeks its members forwarded extensive reports to the NPS. At the end of January 1973, the New York District office compiled a summary of the observations contained in those reviews. The team members felt that the design overwhelmed the theme of the museum. The taped messages accompanying some of the exhibits were too long. They called for better transitions from one display to the next to help the viewer follow the story. All of the reports complained about the "Reluctant Immigrant" exhibit on Afro-Americans, but expressed different reasons for their dissatisfaction. Three team members believed that the religious treatment in the Jewish Exhibit was out of keeping with the remainder of the museum, and all were disappointed in the summation room. The NPS could improve comfort in the museum by lowering the general level of lighting and adding some seats for visitors. The lighting was subsequently improved and this change probably constituted the most direct response to the report's criticisms.[5]

In April 1973 specialists from Harpers Ferry and STLI NM staff composed a list of specific revisions to be made in the museum, based on the study team evaluation and the earlier promises to the ethnic leaders and the group of scholars headed by Dr. Vecoli. They grouped these changes, additions and/or corrections into first, second, and third priorities, noting beside each the estimated cost of planning and of actual production. In the first priority list they placed some of the following:

include exhibits on immigrant religions and the immigration experience in the Heartlands Festival area; expand the coverage of Balkan, Baltic, Central and Eastern European immigrants; incorporate an exhibit on Near Eastern immigration; and totally replan and redesign the exhibit room around the theme of "And Still They Come." This last project they estimated would require $10,000 for the planning and $80,000 for the production. In the second and third priority categories went revisions, along the lines suggested by the scholars and museum specialists, for the Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and black exhibits, among others.

This 1973 document, in addition, listed museum-related projects which would enhance the AMI's worth as an educational institution. These proposals, too, were divided into first, second, and third priorities. In the first category the planners mentioned operating a special exhibit program on an estimated annual budget of $3,000 for planning, $15,000 for production, and starting a publications effort with $5,000 for planning and $5,000 for production. The price tag attached to the total package of exhibit revisions and related projects came to more than $350,000.

On April 27, Jerry Wagers wrote to Al Horowitz of the AMI, Inc., enclosing a copy of these proposals. Wagers pointed out that there was only $5,600 left in the AMI's donation account for the museum, and the NPS' 1974 fiscal year budget contained no appropriations for revisions or other related projects. If the AMI, Inc., would contribute more monies for the desired work or any part of it, the NPS could proceed almost immediately.[6]

The problems were not to be solved that easily. The AMI, Inc., apparently had next to no funds on hand, nor did it have any effective schemes for raising new income. Museum Curator Kallop wrote repeatedly in 1973 and 1974 informing Horowitz and the trustees of the AMI, Inc., that he did not have sufficient money to carry on properly with special programs, let alone undertake revision of exhibits. Furthermore, funding for museum rehabilitation/revision came from an overextended Harpers Ferry fund and not out of the STLI NM's annual operating budget. As a result, Kallop and the curators who succeeded him, Paul Weinbaum and Paul Kinney, fought an often losing battle simply to keep on top of needed repairs and maintenance as exhibits aged and the museum suffered the wear and tear of 600,000 or more people going through it per year. There were also complaints voiced by both NPS staff and AMI, Inc., executives concerning the poor

communications between the two groups. For example, in a November 30, 1973, letter to Viola Scott Thomas of AMI, Inc., Curator Kallop wrote, "What I feel is lacking perhaps comes down to the overworked word communication." Alfred Horowitz, chairman of the AMI, Inc., Executive Committee in the 1970s, on the other hand, claimed that in its dealings with his organization the "NPS has been often uncooperative."[7]

Despite the fact that it did not contribute money, the AMI, Inc., periodically nudged the NPS to get on with the proposed revisions and to initiate new programs. In October 1974, Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum (Democrat-Ohio), now a trustee of the AMI, Inc., wrote to NYC Group Superintendent William H. Hendrickson, inquiring about progress made on these items and reminding him that the 1972 commitment had to be honored. Acting Superintendent Wilbur Ford replied that many minor changes in the exhibits had been made and several of the projects were underway. The major revisions, particularly redesign of the final room, could not be managed without private financial assistance. The stalemate continued through 1975, with the AMI, Inc., prodding the NPS to more activity and the NYC Group officials requesting at least $4,000 to initiate planning of the redesign of the "And Still They Come" exhibit.[8]

Frustrated with the lack of action, du Pont, Horowitz, and George Hartzog (a former director of the NPS and now a trustee of the AMI, Inc.) met in April 1976 with William C. Everhart, assistant director of the Service. The AMI, Inc., officers complained that the museum was simply not living up to its potential as a major educational and cultural institution in the New York area. New, expanded outreach programs must be started and the long-delayed revisions of the exhibits had to be undertaken. The AMI, Inc., wanted to offer more financial assistance for these endeavors, but it did not possess the resources.

Everhart, perhaps realizing that the NPS was unlikely ever to receive substantial, regular donations from the AMI, Inc., promised to make all efforts to obtain funds in the 1978 fiscal year budget for the planning and production work on the summation room. His requests in a period of tight federal budgets, however, proved fruitless and nothing was done.

As late as the fall of 1980, Harpers Ferry Interpretive Planner Mike Paskowsky and Exhibit Designer David McLean visited Liberty Island and wrote a report reiterating that priority must be given to redesigning the "And Still They Come" exhibit. They recommended a $250,000 package to

cover the cost of the exhibit; the redesign and restoration of the Statue of Liberty Story Room, which had suffered bomb damage; and a limited amount of rehabilitation and revision in the remainder of the museum. Through 1982, however, the money had not materialized, and by then suggestions that the museum might be moved to Ellis Island made the NPS reluctant to expend funds on displays that might subsequently be dismantled and relocated.[9]

In addition to lack of funds, other problems also prevented the immigration museum from becoming a major educational and cultural institution in the New York area. The 1970s saw a strong movement toward the professionalization of museum staffs in the United States: development of formal procedures of administration and acquisition, expansion of on- and off-site educational programs, hiring of adequate, professionally trained staff, and accreditation of institutions. Paul Weinbaum, as curator of the AMI, belonged to the local New York City museum organization, the Museum Council, a loosely organized group of about 50 museum curators. As a member of the organization, Weinbaum discussed with the others and was fully aware of these new standards. He found, however, that his museum peers had one standard of professional expectations, while the NPS and AMI, Inc., had another.

The emerging museum ethic envisioned the museum as a place where new and special exhibits and activities could be presented, building upon an expanding core collection at the site. The dominant philosophy at NPS was oriented toward visitor use, not acquisition and development of collections. This rather static NPS philosophy did not allow for the additional staff and expenditures necessary under a more dynamic approach. Thus, after the immigration museum opened, its curators battled constantly with higher-up NPS staff for funds to enlarge the collection, support visiting shows and special exhibits, and acquire a more adequate library. The funds made available for these purposes never came in the desired amount, and Curator Weinbaum felt the museum's possibilities substantially diminished as a result. In Weinbaum's view, the executive board of the AMI, Inc., was no better on these matters. He thought they had little concept of what constituted a professional museum staff and seemed wedded to attitudes about museums inherited from the 1950s and 60s.

Even in the matter of the primary responsibilities of the curator of the AMI there were conflicting expectations. The AMI, Inc., saw the curator as the person concerned first and foremost with running the museum, and, as a member of the Museums Council, the curator also played that role.

The NPS, however, regarded the curator as a member of the interpretive staff for the entire Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island site and expected him to spend much of his time on visitor and other services not confined to the museum.[10]

The severe financial constraints, differences in museum philosphy, and conflicting administrative expectations hampered revision of exhibits, expansion of collections, and the hiring of needed museum specialists and professionals in the field. Nevertheless, the American Museum of Immigration did manage to mount a number of special exhibits, primarily in the museum lobby, and carry on several educational and cultural programs. Although these temporary shows were not usually professionally designed and were often mounted on shoestring budgets, they were reasonably well-done. Moreover, they often dealt with topics neglected, wholly or in part, by the permanent exhibits.

The cultural life of the immigrants, slighted in the museum proper, became the subject of the 1974 "Read All About It: The Immigrant Press--An American Tradition." Children, who, one critic remarked, barely existed in the permanent displays, received the spotlight in "And They Call Us a Problem? The Immigrant Child 1890--1930." This was designed as a traveling exhibit, which opened at the museum and was then shipped to other educational and cultural institutions. In 1982 visitors as far away as Colorado could see that show at the Fort Collins Museum.[11]

Another traveling exhibit was entitled "Yearning to Breathe Free: Immigrants in Search of the American Dream." It consisted of 23 mounted photographs depicting the experiences of immigrants being processed through Ellis Island early in the 20th century.[12] Augustus F. Sherman, the Immigration Service's official photographer until his death in 1925, had taken the pictures. All but forgotten, Sherman's work was rediscovered when the photographer's heirs donated a collection of 125 original prints to the museum.[13]

The museum, in cooperation with outside ethnic and scholarly organizations, mounted two temporary shows that focused on the family, cultural, and community life of two immigrant groups that had not received extensive coverage in the permanent displays. In 1976 the "Chinese in America: Images of a Neglected Past" opened on Liberty Island. Developed by the AMI and the Basement Workshop (later named the Asian-American Research Institute), and funded in part by Museums Collaborative, a New York City

organization, the exhibit dealt with the actual life of Chinese-Americans and the stereotypes about them held by their white countrymen.

"We Italian-Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1875-1977" followed in the fall of 1977. The show, financed in part by a grant from the New York Council for the Humanities, was a joint undertaking of the museum and the Center for Migration Studies, a non-profit research institute. This small exhibit illustrated important aspects of Italian-American life with photographs of neighborhood, family, famous Italian-Americans, and demonstrations of prejudice against the group.[14]

The museum further attempted to enlarge its audience and reach out to the public by organizing special events. In September and October 1973 the staff arranged an Ethnic American Music Festival. The concerts, given out-of-doors on Liberty Island on three successive Sundays, attracted audiences of 200 to 400, most of them ordinary tourists. Between September and December 1975 the museum ran a festival of documentary and fictional films depicting the immigrant experience. The movies, shown on Friday and Sunday afternoons in the statue's base, ranged from the earliest documentaries made at the start of the century to recent Hollywood and television dramatic productions. Despite careful planning and publicity in the New York Times and elsewhere, the showings drew minimal attendance.

Within a year after the museum opened, it began one of its most ambitious projects, "Immigrants on Tape." In July 1973 a small article in the New York Times announced that the institution wanted to interview persons who had entered the United States through Ellis Island about their immigration experience and subsequent life in America. So many people contacted Liberty Island that the NPS hired Margo Nash, a sociologist experienced in interviewing techniques, to coordinate the project. With the aid of other staff members Nash took oral histories not only of immigrants who had passed through Ellis Island, but also of persons who had worked there during its heyday as the main processing depot.

During 1974 the project received considerable publicity when Nash collaborated with Daily News reporter Eleanor Swertlow on a series of twelve articles that appeared in the Sunday editions. After Nash conducted the original interview, Swertlow visited the home of the participant, gathering additional data, taking a photograph, and writing a profile. A radio broadcast on

station WNYC, in June 1974, featured Margo Nash and three of the interviewees discussing the oral history endeavor.

Though Nash did not remain with the museum permanently, the work continued and by 1982 more than 150 tapes had been recorded. The scope of the project also broadened to include oral histories of immigrants who had entered the United States at places other than Ellis Island. The NPS eventually found the money to pay for transcribing the tape recordings. The AMI library made both the tapes and the written transcriptions available to anyone in the field of immigration studies who paid a nominal fee.[15]

These special programs, temporary exhibits, and minor changes in the permanent displays and labels apparently corrected some of the flaws that had bothered historians. Professor Victor Greene of the University of Wisconsin, who had served in 1972 on the committee of scholars headed by Vecoli, in July 1979 again evaluated the museum and wrote a consulting historian's report on the updated institution. In it he recalled that the exhibits in 1972 had tended to emphasize upward social mobility, the successful immigrant and the military sacrifices and other contributions that the immigrants made to their adopted country. The report commended the museum for moving away from these themes and paying more attention to sources of migrants, the work and social life of the immigrants, and the rise of ethnic communities. Greene concluded that in the future the institution should push further ahead with these shifts.[16]

NOTES

[1]Jerry D. Wagers to Alfred Horowitz, June 15, 1972, AMI (Assoc.) File, Drawer 2, Artifact Rm; New York Daily News, Sept. 27, 1972; New York Times, Sept. 27, 1972.

[2]Remarks by Pierre S. du Pont, Pres., Brd. of Trustees, AMI, Sept. 26, 1972, AMI Dedication Folder, Drawer 2; The President's Remarks at Ceremonies Marking the Dedication of the Museum on Liberty Island in NY Harbor, Sept. 26, 1972, Duplicates File, Artifact Room, New York Times, Sept. 27, 1972; New York Daily News, Sept. 27, 1972.

[3]Horace Sutton, The Baltimore Sun. Oct. 22, 1972; Charles Mc Harry, "On the Town," New York Daily News, Oct. 3, 1972; B. Kaufman, "Miss Liberty's New Attractions," Newsday, Nov. 4, 1972; Deirdre Carmody, New York Times, Sept. 26, 1972; R. De Wolf, The Evening Bulletin, May 21, 1973.

[4]E. Kallop, Jr., to Trustees of AMI, Inc., Status Report on the Museum, Nov. 13, 1973, AMI, Monthly Report on Activities File, Drawer A-C, AMI Curator's Files; Paul Weinbaum, Museum Program Survey 1979, Publicity 1976-Present File, Drawer P-R, Curator's Files; AMI Visitors-Use Survey, April-May 1973, Vertical Cabinet, Bottom Drawer, Curator's Files; Kallop, AMI Monthly Report, April 1973, Vertical Cabinet, Bottom Drawer; Philip Slavin, "Letter to Editor," Daily News, Oct. 6, 1972.

[5]Charles Guggenheim to J. Wagers, Jan. 30, 1973; Paul N. Perrot to Wagers, Jan. 29, 1973; Walter J. Heacock to Wagers, Jan. 4, 1973; George Bowditch to Wagers, Jan. 2, 1973; David W. Scott to Wagers, Dec. 18, 1972, Duplicates File, Artifact Room, AMI Study Group Report, Summary of Recommendations, Jan. 1973, AMI Policy File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files; Paul Weinbaum, written comment on author's narrative, April, 1984.

[6]American Mus. of Immig./Proposed Revisions, April 26, 1973; Jerry Wagers to A. Horowitz, April 27, 1973, AMI (Assoc) File, Drawer 2, Artifact Room.

[7]E. Kallop, Jr., to Viola S. Thomas, Nov. 30, 1973; E. Kallop, Jr., to A. Horowitz, March 15, 1974, Budget Discretionary A/C File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files; Paul O. Weinbaum, written answers to author's interview questions, Sept. 15, 1983, Duplicates File, Telephone interview with Alfred Horowitz conducted by Wm. Zeisel, IRH, Sept. 7, 1983.

[8]Howard M. Metzenbaum to William H. Hendrickson, Oct. 4, 1974, Am. Mus. of Immig. File, Storage Area; Paul Weinbaum, draft of a letter to Senator Metzenbaum, Oct. 10, 1974; Weinbaum, draft of a letter to Metzenbaum, Jan. 3, 1975, AMI, Inc. File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files; Wilbur Ford to Metzenbaum, Oct. 16, 1974, Am. Mus. of Immig. File, Storage Area.

[9]William C. Everhart to Director of NPS, Memo on AMI, April 30, 1976, Am. Mus. of Immig. File, Storage Area; E. Kallop, Jr., Staff Curator, N. Atlantic Region, to Supt. STLI NM, Memo on Rehab. Proposals, Dec. 17, 1980; Michael P. Paskowsky to Supt. STLI NM, Memo on Rehab. Proposals, Nov.6, 1980; M. Paskowsky, Development/Study Package Proposal, April 13, 1981, Rehabilitation-1981/82 File, Drawer P-R, Curator's Files; E. Kallop, Jr., written answers to author's interview questions, Sept. 7, 1983, Duplicates File; Paul Kinney, telephone interview with author, Sept. 27, 1983.

[10]Telephone interview with Paul Weinbaum, conducted by Wm. Zeisel, IRH, May 25, 1984.

[11]Weinbaum, written comments on author's narrative, April 1984; Luis E. Garcia-Curbelo, Unit Manager, STLI NM Annual Report, 1974, Drawer 1, Administration Building; Paul Kinney, AMI Monthly Report, Dec. 1982, Monthly and Annual Reports File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files.

[12]NPS Press Release, "Yearning to Breathe Free," July 29, 1977, Press Releases File, Drawer P-R, Curator's Files.

[13]The Augustus F. Sherman Collection and other photographs owned by the museum are kept in its library and are made available by AMI librarians (the first was Harvey Dixon) to scholars and local, national and international media with New York City offices.

[14]Paul Weinbaum, written answers to author's interview questions, Sept. 15, 1983, and written comments to author, Dec., 1983; Paul Kinney, telephone interview with author, Sept. 27, 1983; Memorandum of Agreement Between the Center for Migration Studies and the NPS for the Purpose of Displaying a Special Exhibit at the Am. Mus. of Immig., AMI Policy File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files; U.S. Dept. of Interior, NPS, News Release, Oct. 7, 1977.

[15]Kallop, AMI Monthly Report on Activities, Oct. 1973, Vertical Cabinet, Bottom Drawer, Curator's Files; L. Garcia-Curbelo, Bi-Weekly Highlights, Unit Manager's Narrative Report, July 31 to Aug. 21, 1975; "Going Out Guide," New York Times, Sept. 5, 1975; P. Weinbaum, written answers to author's questions, Sept. 15, 1983. Kallop, AMI Monthly Report, July and Sept. 1973; The News, NPS press release, July 25, 1974; Memo to Acting Unit Manager from Museum Curator, Monthly Highlights,June and July 1974, Vertical Cabinet, Bottom Drawer, Curator's Files; Weinbaum, written answers, Sept. 15, 1983; Kinney, telephone interview, Sept. 27, 1983.

[16]Victor Greene, Consulting Historian's Report, AMI, July 1979, AMI, Inc. File, Drawer A-C, Curator's Files.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH ELLIS ISLAND? 1954 - 1965

November 1954 marked the end of an era for Ellis Island. The Immigration and Naturalization Service in that month released on parole the detainees it had been holding there, moved its papers and furnishings to 70 Columbus Avenue, and declared it no longer wanted the facility in the New York harbor.

The move had been a long time coming. In the first decade and a half of the 20th century, immigration officials had admitted approximately one million newcomers a year through the island gateway, but in 1924 Congress all but closed entry to the United States. It provided further that prospective immigrants would be inspected at American consular offices abroad and the lucky few accepted would receive their visas there. From that point on, Ellis Island served primarily as a detention center: first, for illegal entrants who were awaiting deportation; during World War II, for enemy aliens; and in the 1950s for foreigners and immigrants suspected of holding communist or other subversive views. In the post-World War II years, the local administrators complained repeatedly to Washington that the station "with its great, wide hall and corridors, high ceilings, unusable spaces and outmoded utilities" was impossible to run efficiently and economically. And so, the place which once resounded with the babel of 5,000 entrants a day speaking a dozen or more languages, now lay quiet and abandoned. It was transferred to the General Services Administration to find some new use for it or dispose of it.

In accordance with the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, the GSA inquired whether any other federal agencies desired to take over the area. When none expressed an interest, the GSA, in March 1955, declared Ellis Island surplus property.

The GSA next invited state and local governments and qualified non-profit institutions to submit proposals for acquiring and using the site. Several serious suggestions

were made. New York City wanted to place a shelter for the aged and homeless there, while Senator Irving Ives of New York introduced a bill for his state to purchase Ellis for use as a clinic for alcoholics. James F. Murray, member of the New Jersey Senate, proposed that his state construct a vehicular causeway to Ellis Island from Jersey City, develop a recreation area on it, and create an ethnic museum memorializing the millions of immigrants who had passed through there. Murray and the New Jersey Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development, Joseph E. McLean, argued against the rival New York bids on the grounds that the Garden State's plan made a "more appropriate use of the Island" and that Ellis, only a thousand feet off the Jersey shore, rightfully belonged to New Jersey and not New York.[1]

The GSA ultimately rejected all of these proposals. Money was the biggest stumbling block. The GSA estimated that Ellis and its facilities were worth $6,000,000. It held that a governmental buyer would have to come up with at least half of that sum, which neither of the two states nor New York City would or could offer. Secondly, turning over the property to either New York or New Jersey threatened to revive the long-standing argument between them as to who rightfully owned Ellis. The plans of the American Museum of Immigration, Inc., to build a museum at the base of the Statue of Liberty presented a further obstacle to the New Jersey bid. In June 1955, Ten Eyck Lansing, then managing director of the AMI, wrote to Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, claiming that if the New Jersey idea were accepted it would duplicate the already approved AMI project and interfere with that group's fund-raising efforts. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orme Lewis reassured Lansing of his department's commitment to the AMI and, in August 1955, wrote to the GSA requesting that "no disposal of Ellis Island be made which will conflict with or duplicate the efforts and expense already made by the American Museum of Immigration...."[2]

After the GSA vetoed all governmental proposals, its Regional Commissioner, Walter F. Downey, in September 1956, announced that Ellis Island would be offered for sale to private buyers for commercial development. On September 18, the GSA placed advertisements in the Wall Street Journal and other newspapers promoting "ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS LANDMARKS IN THE WORLD." The notice stated that Ellis was a suitable location for an "oil storage depot, import and export processing, warehousing, manufacturing,..." and the like. The purchaser would receive 27.5 acres of land and 35 buildings, containing office and storage space, greenhouse, library, dining and baggage rooms, dormitories, and

a school. Even the ferry boat "Ellis Island" would be thrown into the package. Interested parties were to submit sealed bids to the GSA's New York office prior to November 19. The agency sent similar circulars to some 1,500 companies and various real estate brokers.

The government's announced intention to award Ellis to the highest commercial bidder provoked an uproar of protest. Numerous letters from those who had entered the United States through Ellis poured in to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. A typical one began, "Back in 1914, as an immigrant child from Greece, I first sensed the grandeur of this great country...when I landed on the Island." The writer went on to plead with the President to preserve Ellis as a memorial to all of the immigrants who had passed through there. Others wrote to GSA Regional Commissioner Downey. One letter to him from an attorney, whose family traced its entry to Ellis, not the "Mayflower," stated: "To millions and millions of Americans Ellis Island was the 19th and 20th century counterpart of Plymouth Rock. [T]his little piece of land has associations of deep affection. To see it sold for commercial purposes will be to see it lose its identity and its historic memory." Senator Jacob Javits (Republican-New York) and New York City Mayor Robert Wagner sent telegrams to the Eisenhower Administration expressing their disapproval, and an irate congressman, T. James Tumulty, who had introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to make Ellis a national shrine, wrote to Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton, "If you can auction off Ellis Island, perhaps you will be auctioning off the Statue of Liberty next."[3]

The public outcry induced Eisenhower, on September 24, 1956, to suspend the planned sale to provide time for further study of what to do with the historic site. While the President's action gratified many, it did not please one group. The promoters of the American Museum of Immigration had been running into difficulty raising the seed money for their upcoming public fund-raising campaign. They regarded the development of Ellis Island into an immigrant shrine as a grave threat to their efforts and ultimate success.

The AMI officials put into high gear their efforts to thwart any such plan for Ellis Island. The co-chairmen of the AMI's public drive for contributions, labor leader David J. McDonald and industrialist Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd, issued a joint statement to the press: "It is inconceivable to us that [Ellis Island] should be considered as appropriate for a national tribute to immigration...." The experiences

of the immigrants being examined there were often "painful and bewildering....No immigrant was ever attracted to America by Ellis Island....The lodestar for all of them was the Statue of Liberty....Liberty Island is a happy place of continuing inspiration, not a depository of bad memories." William H. Baldwin, originator of the museum of immigration idea, wrote to the New York Times, "Let us retire 'the still shadowy Ellis Island project' into real obscurity and concentrate on the American Museum of Immigration under the full light of the Statue of Liberty."[4]

Behind the scenes, AMI executives Alexander Hamilton and Ulysses S. Grant, III, spoke to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Under Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson, and NPS Director Conrad Wirth about helping them head off the feared competition at Ellis Island. All agreed to use their influence on behalf of the AMI. Nixon wrote a letter restating his support for their endeavor and offering to become honorary chairman of the Southern California Citizens Committee for the AMI. Chilson informed the GSA that the creation of a national immigration museum at Ellis Island "would be in direct conflict with a program endorsed by President Eisenhower and the Department of the Interior in 1954, to establish the American Museum of Immigration in the base of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, on Liberty Island." In reply, GSA Administrator Franklin G. Floete assured the secretary that "we will not recommend the use of this property as a museum or historical monument without first consulting your Department." Wirth and NPS Regional Director Ronald Lee promised the AMI that they would continue working with the GSA "to the end that a recommendation of abandonment of the Ellis Island project is forwarded to the President."

Not surprisingly, then, the GSA ruled that proposals to use the site for an immigrant shrine were not feasible, and the agency continued to canvass city, state and federal governments for alternative suggestions. When nothing acceptable materialized, the GSA, early in 1958, again put the facility up for sale to commercial buyers. In February 1958, the GSA received 21 sealed offers, but the highest, from a builder named Sol G. Atlas who wanted to construct luxury apartments, a hotel, marina, heliport, and convention hall there, was for only $201,000. The agency rejected this as far too low. Two more attempts to find a private customer produced no satisfactory results. In each round of bidding, Atlas named the top figure, eventually going up to $1.25 million. The GSA considered the sum still way below the actual worth of the property.[5]

Meanwhile, by 1960, public sentiment in favor of saving the island for cultural and/or educational purposes was again building. Even some of the promoters of the American Museum of Immigration were starting to back the idea. In December 1960, Edward Corsi, former commissioner of immigration, and Sylvan Gotshal (both trustees of the AMI), and Oscar Handlin and Allan Nevins (both members of the AMI historians committee) wrote to the New York Times, proposing that Ellis be named a national monument and maintained by the NPS "as a park for educational and recreational purposes...." They reconciled the supposed conflict with the AMI, by suggesting that displays at Ellis serve as an extension of the principal museum at Liberty Island or that the whole project be moved to Ellis, "should it ultimately seem more appropriate and desirable to locate" it there. Not all of the AMI backers agreed. William Baldwin wrote, to Alexander Hamilton and du Pont, expressing his "sense of shock" at the defection.

Nonetheless, this letter to the Times and similar public statements led the GSA to authorize the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to review proposals to make Ellis available to interested parties who wanted to develop educational or cultural programs there. HEW received a number of applications, including one from Ellis Island for Higher Education, Inc., which listed among its members Seymour Harris, chairman of the economics department at Harvard; Clinton Rossiter, professor of government at Cornell; Eric Goldman, Princeton University history professor; and historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. They wished to develop a low-tuition, self-supporting "college of the future." They intended to solicit $6,000,000 from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and from the well-to-do children of the immigrants who once passed through the portals of Ellis, to convert the island into a college campus, complete with foot bridge from the New Jersey shore. The various applicants, however, could not raise the money necessary to undertake their proposals or failed to meet other requirements to make them eligible for using the property under the terms of the 1949 Federal Property and Administrative Services Act.[6]

By 1962, legislators in Washington were also trying to answer the question of what to do with Ellis Island. In the 87th Congress, five bills dealing with the subject were introduced: S 2596 (Ellis for Higher Education, Inc.), S 2852 (transfer of the property to the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey), and S 867, S 1118, and S 1198, which in different versions provided for health, education, and housing projects for the elderly. The Senate referred all of these to its Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations,

chaired by Senator Edmund Muskie (Democrat - Maine). New York's two Republican senators, Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating, also served on that subcommittee.

In September 1962, the Muskie group held public hearings in Washington. At that time George B. Hartzog, Jr., associate director of the NPS, read a statement to the subcommittee indicating the Service had not changed its earlier position regarding the island:

> [It] does not possess the scenic or scientific attributes that would justify Federal operation as a National Park, Monument, or Recreation Area. The historic significance of Ellis Island lies chiefly in its former operation as an immigration station....In this connection, over $400,000 has been donated for the construction of an American Museum of Immigration [at the Statue of Liberty] .... [W]e believe there is represented in the Statue of Liberty National Monument and the American Museum of Immigration adequate commemoration of immigration by the United States.
>
> In these circumstances, we believe that Federal operation or development of the island for memorialization or national monument purposes would not be in the public interest.

In December the subcommittee held two more days of hearings at the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York, where many persons presented their views concerning the historic site. Author Pearl Buck "spoke eloquently for its use as a diagnostic center for mentally retarded children." Congressman Emmanuel Celler (Democrat - Brooklyn) and Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey (Democrat) favored establishment of a university on the grounds. Jersey City officials wanted development of Ellis as part of the improvement plans for their city's waterfront. Rabbi Stephen Wise read a statement calling for a "living museum of immigration." At that point, NPS historian Pitkin, who had been requested to attend the hearings by Regional Director Ronald Lee, became alarmed about the old issue of conflict with the American Museum of Immigration. Pitkin and Alexander Hamilton, who was also watching the proceedings, agreed to prepare a package of material to counteract any museum proposal for Ellis. Pitkin gathered the documents, and Hamilton subsequently handed them to a member of the committee staff.[7]

Throughout the remainder of 1962 and the first three-quarters of 1963, the subcommittee reviewed these and other proposals it continued to receive. No consensus,

however, was developing around any one of them. Then, on September 4, 1963, Senator Muskie held an executive meeting of the subcommittee in Washington to which he invited the following, among others: Governors Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Richard Hughes of New Jersey, Mayors Thomas Gangemi of Jersey City and Robert Wagner of New York, Senators Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating of New York and Clifford Case and Harrison Williams of New Jersey, various members of the House of Representatives from New York and New Jersey, Secretary Anthony Celebrezze of HEW, GSA Administrator Bernard Boutin, Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert Weaver, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. Muskie summarized for the participants what the subcommittee had heard up to that point and asked for their additional thoughts. The representatives from New Jersey spoke further about their plans for developing Liberty State Park on the run-down waterfront of Jersey City. After their presentation, Senator Muskie urged the Department of the Interior "to review the proposal for Ellis Island as a national park, monument, or recreation area in conjunction with the New Jersey shoreline."

One month later, 28 people, representing the Muskie subcommittee, NPS, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the GSA, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the states of New York and New Jersey, and New York and Jersey Cities, met at Federal Hall to deal with the problem. The participants created an Ellis Island study team, designating NPS Regional Director Ronald Lee and BOR Northeast Regional Director John Sullivan to coordinate its efforts. The study team, working with Lee and Sullivan, visited Ellis Island on several occasions.[8] They also met at various times with the concerned New York and New Jersey officials to review technical questions and to discuss their findings and draft proposals. The team finished its work by the spring, forwarding its report to the Senate subcommittee on June 25, 1964.[9]

The conclusions reached in that report turned around the earlier official position of the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. Echoing those horrified at the thought of selling the site for commercial purposes, the study proclaimed that, "Ellis Island has been as important in fact as Plymouth Rock has become in fancy for the descendants of those who came in the first colonization wave." Contradicting the 1962 statement of George Hartzog, the report noted, "...the story of immigration to America is insufficiently commemorated by the nation in the National Park System...." The team, therefore, recommended that "permanent recognition" of the island's historical importance should have first

place in its future use. That could best be achieved by designating Ellis as a national monument within the national park system.

The study team stated further that the NPS should administratively join Ellis to the Statue of Liberty National Monument. "Any other administration...could well result in independent and uncoordinated programs for the neighboring properties." Here the report turned to the troublesome issue of the relationship between Ellis as a memorial to immigration and the American Museum of Immigration being built on Liberty Island. The study suggested the former site must be developed in a way that augmented, not duplicated what was done in the AMI. Reassuring the promoters of the AMI that the NPS was "firmly committed to...carry out the project as planned and in full," the report continued, "this museum will tell the broad story of immigration. It cannot, however, provide the additional vivid experience gained from a personal visit to Ellis Island and to the landmarks and objects visible there."

The report said that the buildings on the older portion of the island should be retained and opened to the public for interpretive tours. That area could also serve as a gathering place for special groups interested in immigration, ethnic festivals, and other outdoor events. Library and exhibit facilities could be developed to explain the history of the immigration station and "its relationship to the broad story of immigration presented at the Statue of Liberty."

The study group recommended that plans for Ellis should also be closely coordinated with New Jersey's work on Liberty State Park. This might be accomplished by turning the newer sections of the island into a park with "promenades, possibly restaurant facilities, picnic facilities, green open space, and a boat basin." A bridge or causeway might be built between the New Jersey shore and Ellis, to make the recreational and historic features more accessible to residents of the Garden State. The team concluded that Congress ought to authorize an Advisory Commission on Ellis Island and direct the NPS to prepare a master plan to spell out the guidelines mentioned in this study.

On a tour of Ellis Island in October 1964, Secretary Udall told reporters that he endorsed the recommendations of the study team, and the Muskie subcommittee indicated that it, too, was persuaded and would recommend that Congress designate the island an historic monument to be administered by the NPS.[10]

Meanwhile, President Lyndon B. Johnson entered the picture with a characteristic dramatic flair. On May 11, 1965, he issued Proclamation 3656, adding Ellis Island to the Statue of Liberty National Monument. Before members of Congress and the press, assembled in the White House Rose Garden for the ceremony, Johnson said,

> Between 1892 and 1920, sixteen million immigrants entered America through the open doors of Ellis Island. These men, women and children from many lands enriched the American melting pot. They made us not merely a nation, but a nation of nations.
>
> So I am signing today a proclamation making Ellis Island a part of Liberty Island National Monument [sic]. In addition, I am asking Congress to enact legislation authorizing appropriations to make Ellis Island a handsome shrine in the broad harbor of the great port of New York.

The President also announced that he was approving the establishment of a Jobs Corps Conservation Center on the New Jersey shore adjacent to the island and that the young recruits would soon be put to work restoring Ellis and helping to create Liberty State Park. Johnson ended his remarks with a plea to Congress to pass his immigration reform bill, aimed at abolishing the discriminatory national origins quota system adopted in 1924.

Since the President's proclamation stated that the Department of the Interior was not to expend any funds given it for the Statue of Liberty on development of Ellis Island, unless authorized to do so by Congress, legislation by the House and Senate became imperative. Shortly thereafter, Congressmen Jonathan Bingham (Democrat - New York), Cornelius E. Gallagher (Democrat - New Jersey), and several others introduced bills in the House, while Senator Clifford Case (Republican - New Jersey) and others sponsored similar measures in the Senate. Finally, passed by Congress and signed by the President on August 17, 1965, as Public Law 89-129, the act authorized an appropriation of no more than $6,000,000 to develop Ellis Island as a part of the Statue of Liberty. Not more than $3,000,000 of that sum was to be appropriated during the first five years.[11]

Ellis Island, then, had been saved from losing its historic associations. It would not, after all, pass into private hands for commercial development of luxury apartments, warehousing, or an oil storage depot. Its future, however, was far from settled. Congress had authorized

money, but would it follow this up with actual appropriations? Would the monies, if forthcoming, prove adequate for the tremendous job of preservation and interpretation that lay ahead? Besides that, future planners still had to resolve the whole question of which buildings on the island to preserve, restore, or demolish.

NOTES

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March 28, 1957, and F.G. Floete to Sec. of Interior, April 9, 1957, Duplicates File; Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint Development Committee of the AMI, May 9, 1957, Duplicates File; Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint Development Committee of the AMI, May 9, 1957, Duplicates File; Pitkin, Keepers of the Gate, p. 182; GSA News Release, GSA #684, Nov. 15, 1957, Duplicates File; Wall Street Journal, April 7, 1958; GSA News Release, GSA #1026, May 8 1959; Unrau, "Administrative History of Ellis Island: 1954-1982."

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[10]"Ellis Island: A Study Report" (prepared for the Subcom. on Intergovt. Relations), June 1964, pp. 7, 16-17, 15, 13-14, 10, 23-24; NY Times, Oct. 22, 1964; Unrau, "Administrative History of Ellis Island: 1954-1982."

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CHAPTER 6

THE YEARS OF NEGLECT AND DETERIORATION, 1965-1976

Soon after President Johnson issued his proclamation making Ellis a part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, Secretary of the Interior Udall commissioned noted architect Philip Johnson to create a plan for the development of the former immigration station. Philip Johnson, generally regarded as one of the more innovative men in his field, had earlier designed the New York State Theater at Lincoln Center. In July 1965, the architect met with NYC Group Superintendent Townsley, Regional Director Lee, and Donald Benson of the EODC on Ellis to inspect the area. By then many of the buildings were showing clear signs of neglect and decay because the GSA, considering the island no longer its responsibility, had shut off heat and other utilities. The NPS kept only a single guard on the premises by day and a watchdog at night. This was insufficient to prevent intruders, coming by boat usually from the nearby Jersey shore, from landing and stealing fixtures, hardware, and any other movable property of value. These conditions may have influenced the plan that Philip Johnson devised for Ellis.

The architect proposed that the principal structures of the former immigration depot, including the main building, the hospital buildings, the ferry slip, and the old Ellis Island ferry, not be restored to their original state, but be stabilized as historic ruins. Wood and glass would be removed, roof and masonry retained. Around the buildings the NPS would plant vines, poplars, sycamores, and ailanthus, allowing these to grow unchecked up and through the structures. A moat dug around the historic group would isolate it from the rest of the island. "The effect would be a romantic and nostalgic grouping through which the visitor would pass along raised concrete walkways." All other buildings would be demolished.

Philip Johnson further suggested that the circular shape of Fort Clinton at the Battery and Fort Williams on Governors Island should be continued, with the

construction on Ellis of a 130-foot high "truncated cone," to be called the "Wall of Sixteen Million." Visitors could walk upon great ramps which would wind around the inner and outer faces of the cone. There, they would view photographic reproductions of old ships' manifests, listing the names of the sixteen million immigrants who had passed through the place. The Johnson Plan, in addition, called for creating an off-shore restaurant, a picnic grove, a viewing pyramid for looking at the sky-line of lower Manhattan, and a ceremonial field for band concerts, observances of ethnic holidays, and other festivals.

At a press conference at Federal Hall on February 24, 1966, the architect officially presented his scheme for development of Ellis Island to Secretary Udall. The latter stated that he endorsed the proposals, as did New York Senator Jacob Javits, who also attended the affair.[1]

The press generally reacted to the Johnson plan quite differently from Udall and Javits. A columnist in the Herald Tribune wrote, "I think I have never read of a project more outrageous." The proposed wall of names was "ugly," resembling a "monstrous gas tank." Besides, she wrote, what could be more absurd than "phoneying up with vines a group of commonplace late nineteenth century and early twentieth century utilitarian buildings?" A World Telegram and Sun article, entitled "The Cult of Instant Ugliness," declared that making ruins out of the buildings on Ellis was "romanticism run riot." A New York Times editorial argued, "Of all the symbols to use in the projected national shrine at Ellis Island, a wall would seem to be the least appropriate. Walls are built to exclude....Ellis was America's gateway for six decades...." Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic for the Times, was one of the few with a good word for the Johnson plan. "It is light years ahead," she wrote, "of the routine reconstructions and predictably pedestrian memorials usually tendered by government agencies."

Whether it liked this 1966 proposal or not, the NPS soon realized there was no way it could implement the Johnson scheme, because to do so would require far more money than the $6,000,000 that Congress had authorized for the development of Ellis. Indeed, as the Vietnam War consumed an ever larger share of tax revenues, Congress failed to appropriate even the $6,000,000 it had authorized. The Johnson plan, therefore, was placed on the shelf.[2]

On a much more modest scale, the NPS proceeded to arrange for the establishment of a Job Corps Conservation Center and recruit the workers for the island that President Johnson had promised at the time he incorporated Ellis in the Statue of Liberty National Monument. On December 15, 1965, Superintendent Townsley travelled to Trenton to meet with the New Jersey Governor's staff and finalize the leasing of land on the Jersey shore by the NPS for constructing the camp. Northeast Regional Director Lemuel Garrison presided over groundbreaking ceremonies at the site in February of 1966. By the following January, the Liberty Park Job Corps Conservation Center (as it was named), administered jointly by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the NPS, was completed. It consisted of ten buildings with accommodations for some 200 teen-aged corpsmen. During 1967 these young people cleared land for development of Liberty State Park in New Jersey and worked on cleanup and repairs at Ellis. Before they could accomplish much, however, the OEO announced that due to lack of funds it would have to close sixteen Job Corps Centers by June 30, 1968. The Jersey camp was one of them.[3]

During this same period, the Department of the Interior received an offer of help in developing Ellis Island which must have seemed quite welcome in light of the failure of Congress to appropriate funds. The offer came in a letter to Secretary Udall from Maxwell M. Rabb, president of the United States Committee for Refugees, a private group organized in 1958 and interested in refugee resettlement and immigration. Mr. Rabb, a New York attorney, indicated that he and several other members of the committee, including Edward Corsi and Dr. R. Norris Wilson, had already met with Northeast Regional Director Lee to explore ways that they might cooperate with the NPS.[4]

Udall gave his blessings to the collaboration, and on August 3, 1965, Lee discussed with Wilson, Corsi, Rabb, and others the possibility of organizing a National Ellis Island Association, Inc., to raise money for development and assist in making plans for interpretation of the site. The counsel for the U.S. Committee for Refugees even drafted a certificate of incorporation for this proposed body. After further talks and incorporation in New York State as a non-profit fund-raising group, the National Ellis Island Association, Inc., signed a cooperative agreement with the Secretary of the Interior and the NPS on July 12, 1966. According to the terms of that document, the NEIA, Inc., would "assist the National Park Service, when requested, in its programs of interpretation on Ellis Island..., organize and sponsor appropriate

special events" on the island in conjunction with the NPS, and "receive funds contributed to it by the American public" for development of the former immigration station, and turn these monies over to the NPS. Unfortunately for all concerned, the NEIA, Inc., never got its fund-raising campaign started, and the whole organization proved short-lived, with no signs of activity after 1967.[5]

As a result of Congress' failure to appropriate money, the removal of the Job Corpsmen, and the stillborn efforts of the NEIA, Inc., conditions on Ellis grew steadily worse. Between 1965 and 1973, officials at the STLI NM received only $676,000 to maintain the former immigration depot, a pitifully inadequate sum. The NPS, therefore, could not afford to heat the buildings, pipe water to the island, or provide other utilities. Without heat in winter, the buildings quickly deteriorated. To make matters worse, the roofs leaked, whole chunks of plaster fell from the ceilings, and the seawall surrounding the island was cracking. Weeds and other vegetation grew wild and unchecked. Intruders continued to trespass on the premises, committing acts of vandalism and theft. They stole copper, brass, and other metal fittings and, in one instance, a whole section of copper sheeting from the roof of a building.[6]

A New York Times reporter who visited Ellis early in 1968 described what he beheld:

> ...the island ferryboat that once took about one of every ten immigrants to Manhattan is a crumbling shell. It floats next to a concrete dock that is collapsing in places.
>
> Green copper sheeting has blown off one of the four cupolas that make Ellis's red-brick main registration building a harbor landmark. Inside, old bedframes and mattresses are stacked in disuse. Tables, benches, and chairs lie about haphazardly. The floors of side rooms are strewn with broken ceiling plaster....

In the 1930s, Edward Laning and other artists in the employ of the Works Progress Administration had painted murals in the dining hall, library, and recreation room of the main building. These works of art had suffered greviously. In 1963, Superintendent Foster had arranged with the GSA to remove two sections (each seven by seven feet) of the oil murals from the library and recreation room to Liberty Island for possible use eventually in the planned museum of immigration. As late as

1967, they were still stored in the utility building there, each rolled on a cylinder and hung from rafters by ropes. When Museum Specialist Walter Nitkiewicz inspected them in December of that year, he found the ropes encircling the suspended drums had dug deeply into the canvas, causing serious damage to the paintings. The Laning oils left behind in the dining room had fared even worse. Nitkiewicz reported:

> Four years ago roof leaks were permitting water to flow over the right side of the mural. Large losses of paint had already resulted. Since then leaking and consequent water damage have continued. A large segment of the canvas hangs loose from the wall. I judge this extremely damaged section of the mural to be beyond restoration.[7]

While the island and its facilities rapidly deteriorated, interest in it continued at a high level. Articles in the press, such as the New York Times's "Ellis Island at Low Point in Its History," attempted to tell the public about the sorry state of the historic site. In July 1965, a WCBS-TV crew visited Ellis to shoot a documentary about the former immigration station. It was shown in the fall on a program called "Eye on New York." WNBC-TV sent a crew of twelve to take footage on the premises for a feature on immigration, entitled "An Island Called Ellis." It was first shown on WNBC-TV on January 13, 1967, and is at the present time regularly played for visitors to the Statue of Liberty as a part of the NPS' program of interpretation.

The NPS was also still interested in properly developing Ellis and opening it for the public if funds for the purpose ever became available. For this reason, in February 1968, the Service appointed a team consisting of architects, landscape designers, museum specialists and historians, headed by David Kimball, to draw up a master plan for its neglected property.

By June 1968, the team had completed its assigned task. Their "Master Plan for Ellis Island" ignored the Philip Johnson proposals, harking back instead to some of the ideas expressed in the 1964 study report prepared for the Muskie Senate subcommittee. The master plan called for retention of the main immigration building "as a memorial to the immigrant and as the key to effective interpretation" (Fig. 5). That structure was to be handled in the following manner:

> Its central block will serve as an exhibit in place, with restoration of its three front central doorways and the original stairway from the first floor to the second floor examination room. Its west wing will be rehabilitated and adapted for interpretative (ground floor) and office (second floor) use. Remaining spaces will be stabilized and given the minimum heat and maintenance required to prevent deterioration.

The plan stated that all other structures, except for the ferry boat "Ellis Island," existing covered walkways, and three buildings constructed in the 1930s, should be removed. The ferry house, immigrant building to the rear of it, and the recreation hall at the head of the fill between islands two and three (all put up in the 1930s and still in relatively good condition) should be retained because they offered large covered spaces that would prove useful during the period of development work on Ellis. Afterwards, they too should be demolished.[8]

The master plan went on to divide the site into three physical segments: the north unit, containing the main immigration building, would communicate the park story; the south unit, cleared of its original buildings, would serve as an activity area and a center for ethnic observances; the fill joining these two parts would act as a transition between them. On the south unit, the plan provided for facilities necessary to support ethnic events and a concession food service. Space might also be reserved for a restaurant and for seating at recreational programs if either of those proved desirable in the future.

Access to Ellis would be by boat from Liberty Island, until Liberty State Park in Jersey City was finished. Then, shuttles could operate from there as well.

Since all of this repair and demolition would take time, even after or if the money to implement the plan became available, the team recommended interim use of Ellis. A limited number of visitors should be permitted to take guided tours. They would be brought by boat from Liberty Island, landed at the ferry slip in front of the main building, conducted into it through the southwest tower and up to the examination room on the second floor. There they would hear a talk on "the historic use of the room and its significance, and view photo murals of the room" as it appeared early in the century. To do these

things, however, the NPS would first have to rehabilitate the ferry slip seawall, commission a thorough inspection of the main building to make sure it was structurally safe for the public to enter, clean up and repair the portions of the main building to be included in the tours, negotiate a concession contract for boat service, and provide temporary restrooms.

Team members disagreed among themselves about the recommendation to demolish so many of the existing structures on the island. A minority of the group, and many of the NPS officials who afterwards reviewed the master plan, felt strongly that the hospital buildings along the ferry slip and the kitchen-restaurant structure adjacent to the main building should be kept, to preserve the "architectural composition as a whole" and allow the visitor to see "substantially the same picture the immigrants saw when they arrived at the island."[9]

With this question still not fully settled, the director of the NPS approved the master plan in November 1968 and asked the Eastern Service Center to estimate the cost of its implementation. In April 1970 the center provided the requested information.[10] Its report stated that to accomplish the minimum construction necessary for producing a "permanent type workable facility" required $3,950,600. With this amount, the NPS, during phase I of the work, could repair the seawall; dredge the ferry basin and channel and remove the wreck of the "Ellis Island" (which in 1968, after the master plan was written, had sunk during a storm); install water and sewage systems and electrical service; and initiate architectural, plumbing, heating, and air-conditioning work in the main building and landscape the grounds immediately around it. During a second phase, the demolition on islands two and three could commence; covered walks would be modified and new connecting ones built; islands two and three would be landscaped; and dock shelters erected. These phase II activities would cost approximately $609,400. In the third phase, the NPS would repair the balance of the seawall, requiring $284,700.

The estimators pointed out that interpretative facilities would also be needed for the site, which they thought might be provided for $50,000. They noted too that $184,000 had already been spent for reroofing the main building and other miscellaneous items.[11]

Judging from cost studies made only a few years later, one must conclude that the figures presented in this report were unrealistically low. Perhaps the reason

for this underestimating was the concern of the Eastern Service Center team with staying within the $6,000,000 limit earlier imposed by Congress. In addition, the figures covered construction work only, ignoring the costs of planning, supervision, operation and maintenance, and personnel services.

Congress did not appropriate even this minimal amount. Thus, the master plan which had received official approval, like the Johnson one which was never formally accepted, lay on the shelf gathering dust. The NPS even lacked the money to follow the interim proposal of opening the facility to limited visitation. At this point, however, some parts of the public attempted to impose their own ideas concerning utilization of Ellis Island.

At 5:30 a.m., on March 16, 1970, an eighteen-foot boat pushed off from the New Jersey shore heading for the former immigration station. It carried eight Native-Americans and assorted supplies for setting up camp on the island. A faulty gas line, however, aborted the plan and left the intruders adrift until the Coast Guard rescued them. When they vowed to attempt another landing, the Coast Guard stationed two patrol boats near Ellis, proclaimed a "zone of security" around it, and pointed out that under the provisions of the Espionage Act of 1917, unauthorized squatters could receive jail terms of up to ten years.

Shoshone Indian John White Fox, who had participated in the occupation of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay the previous November, read a statement to the press explaining what the Native-Americans wanted to do with Ellis. "There is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life in this white man's city." The island, he proclaimed, should become a living center of Indian culture and house a museum with exhibits illustrating what whites have contributed to red men: "disease, alcohol, poverty and cultural desecration."[12]

Four months later, a second, more successful occupation of Ellis occurred, this time by 63 black men, women, and children belonging to a group called the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO). Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a 46-year-old, black neurosurgeon, had founded NEGRO in 1965. He was philosophically against welfare and proposed instead to rehabilitate drug addicts, alcoholics, ex-convicts, and the chronically dependent by offering them job-training and employment in labor-intensive black-owned businesses.

For thirteen days (July 20 to August 1) the little band of illegal squatters held Ellis, while Matthew announced he intended to lease and perhaps eventually purchase the island from the NPS in order to develop it as a rehabilitation center for 2,500 drug addicts, alcoholics, ex-convicts and their families. He planned to set up light manufacturing projects (such as producing shoes, packaging chemicals, and assembling electronic equipment) that would train and employ these people. In addition, his self-help community would refurbish the great hall as a monument to immigrants: NEGRO would use it to hold ethnic festivals and celebrate special holidays, inviting the appropriate immigrant group to attend. The Irish, for example, would be welcomed on St. Patrick's Day to participate in dancing Irish jigs and singing Irish songs. To finance these undertakings, Matthew intended to sell $6 million worth of interest-bearing bonds to foundations, businessmen, civic leaders, and other interested parties.

During the thirteen-day occupation, Matthew and representatives of the NPS worked out an agreement. His followers ended their illegal stay on the property, and the NPS granted a special use permit to NEGRO, commencing September 1, 1970, and good for five years.[13] That document allowed the organization to occupy the buildings and grounds on the south portion of Ellis for residence and light industrial projects. They were not, however, to use or in any way alter the great hall or other rooms on the north side of the island, without approval in advance from the superintendent of the STLI NM. NPS officials, further, retained the right to visit and inspect the area to check compliance with local and federal laws concerning public health and sanitation and with the terms of the permit.[14]

In the months that followed, Dr. Matthew apparently had little success in raising the amount of capital needed to finance his schemes, nor did he attract many settlers. Only four NEGRO members lived full-time on Ellis during the winter of 1970-71. Twice, the superintendent from Liberty Island accompanied sanitary engineers from the United States Public Health Service on inspection tours of the site. STLI NM Superintendent Arthur Sullivan and a public health engineer dropped in on September 14, 1970, only to be ordered off the premises by NEGRO members, who said the officials could not visit unless accompanied by Matthew. The officials returned with the doctor on September 21 and succeeded in making their inspection. The public health engineer's subsequent report stated that there were numerous safety and health

hazards, such as collapsed sections of the seawall which undermined portions of sidewalks, questionable structural stability of the hospital buildings, and lack of a potable water supply, adequate plumbing, or heating. These conditions could lead to an outbreak of communicable diseases, or a major fire might start as inhabitants attempted to keep warm by burning the wood and debris scattered about the site. In addition, NEGRO members had ignored the prohibition on use of the buildings on the north side of the property. The report, therefore, recommended that NEGRO find a different location for its projects and "return Ellis Island to the original NPS plan for historical renovation."

Six months later, a second inspection group that included NYC Group Superintendent Wagers and STLI NM Assistant Superintendent Batman found essentially the same conditions. Although Dr. Matthew's followers had engaged in clean-up work on the grounds and interiors of the buildings, the hazards, in fact, had grown worse. The safety engineer's report stated:

> On Ellis Island, NPS is allowing continuation of a permit for limited use of a deteriorated, delapidated, unsanitary facility which is likely to result in disease, injury or death to one or more of the permittees.
>
> The only sensible recommendation from the health and safety point of view is the immediate revocation of the permit to NEGRO.

Though the NPS did not act on this recommendation for two years, NEGRO itself abandoned its project. During the summer months, the number of NEGRO-affiliated workers on the island rarely exceeded five; in September 1971, the last three residents left. Jerry Wagers officially ended the Matthew episode when, in April 1973, he sent the doctor a registered letter announcing termination of the permit.[15]

Ellis once again lay deserted and neglected, when it attracted the attention of President Nixon. On his way to the dedication of the American Museum of Immigration on Liberty Island, in September 1972, the President noticed the neighboring site, with its imposing main building, and expressed interest in rehabilitating the landmark in time for the nation's bicentennial celebration in July 1976.

The President's newly aroused enthusiasm led the Department of the Interior to explore further options for handling Ellis and their potential costs. The under secretary requested that the Northeast Regional Office of the NPS conduct a study of the possible alternatives and submit its findings. Regional Director Chester Brooks fulfilled that assignment in April 1973, when he forwarded to the head of the NPS an option paper prepared under the supervision of Jerry Wagers, New York District chief.

This document pointed out that Congress had thus far appropriated only $752,130 of the $6,000,000 authorized for development of the island. That money had been spent to reroof the main building and make a few emergency repairs. Such minimal work, however, had done little to arrest the progressive deterioration of the property. Indeed, advancing dilapidation, vandalism, and theft, coupled with inflation, had made the 1968-70 cost estimates "grossly inadequate."

The study went on to summarize five options. 1) Rehabilitate the entire main building and hospital, rebuild the ferry dock and seawall, dredge the ferry basin, provide utilities, demolish all other structures, landscape north and south sides of the island, and provide concessioner, interpretive, and protective facilities, including seven residences. Development cost--$46,751,000. 2) Rehabilitate a little over half of the main building, while stabilizing the rest for structural safety. Only the rehabilitated portion would be open to the public. Demolish all other structures on the north side of the island. Rebuild the ferry dock and north side of the seawall and dredge the ferry basin. Leave the south side of the island as it was and closed to the public. Development cost--$20,935,000. 3) The federal government would attempt to interest private groups and businesses in developing a convention center, a hotel, or housing projects on parts of Ellis. The NPS would rehabilitate only the main building as a museum. Development cost (private)--$50,000,000, (federal)--$21,000,000. 4) Similar to option three, except that the NPS would retain only a portion of the main building for visitor services and interpretation. Development cost (private)--$60,000,000, (federal)--$16,000,000. 5) "Turn the island back to GSA for disposal as surplus property."

Options one through four were well above the $6,000,000 limit imposed by Congress and would, therefore, require authorization of additional funds. The fifth alternative would need legislation disestablishing the former immigration station as a national monument.[16]

The Northeast Regional Office recommended that option two be followed because "it would provide the essential visitor experience in the main building while retaining all other options for future consideration." Ronald H. Walker, NPS director, and Nathaniel P. Reed, assistant secretary for Fish, Wildlife and Parks, concurred, but apparently Rogers C. B. Morton, secretary of the interior, did not. At a meeting on May 15, 1973, at the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace House, Morton remarked that he did not want any part of Ellis Island. It would be too expensive to rehabilitate. He intended, therefore, to speak to the President about returning it to the GSA for disposal.

Secretary Morton's statement shocked many of the members of the Interior Department and the NPS, including Superintendent Batman and the curator of the AMI, both of whom wrote memoranda arguing against such a course. As Museum Curator Kallop put it, "disposal of Ellis Island by the Park Service" would be seen by the "vast public of Americans newly conscious of their ethnic heritage as a denial by the government of a commitment made to the public to rescue and rehabilitate the Island." It would be denounced by the press and by critics of the AMI, who see the development of Ellis as "an opportunity to rectify what they consider the mistakes of the Museum." In short, getting rid of the historic site could be "truly explosive."[17]

It was this "truly explosive" potential, perhaps, that prevented Secretary Morton from having his way on the dispositon of Ellis. Congress, on the other hand, showed no inclination to approve or approriate the sums required for the other four alternatives. In the face of this situation, NPS Director Walker wrote a memorandum in June 1974, outlining the possibilities of raising funds for rehabilitation work on the island from labor unions, ethnic groups, and other private-sector sources. To further Walker's proposals, Under Secretary of the Interior John C. Walker gave his approval to a plan to bring a group of ethnic leaders to Ellis and explore with them the formation of an organization to raise money for development of the historic site.

Before this visit occurred, in November 1974, however, one concerned private citizen was already taking action. Dr. Peter Sammartino, founder and president of Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey, was the child of Italian immigrants who had once passed through Ellis. While taking a helicopter trip over New York harbor in January 1974, Sammartino hit upon the idea of

launching an effort to restore the area. He presented his thoughts to the International Committee of the New Jersey Bicentennial Celebration Commission, which he chaired. In July, the committee unanimously voted "to further the establishment of a museum and recreational park on Ellis Island."

That summer, Sammartino made an inspection of the island in the company of Ed Kallop and mentioned to the AMI curator that as a first step he and the other Bicentennial Commission members would try to "pry loose" the $6,000,000 earlier authorized by Congress. Sammartino believed that he and his colleagues, acting as a pressure group, might have better success in achieving this than the Park Service people. He proceeded to write to President Nixon, Secretary Morton, Senator Harrison Williams, Jr. (Democrat-New Jersey), and other senators. He also publicized his ideas through letters to the press, including the one that appeared in the Newark Star-Ledger in October 1974.

In all of these communications, Sammartino argued that Ellis Island had to be restored. To allow it to deteriorate further was a national disgrace. A complete job of rehabilitation would cost $20,000,000 or more, an unthinkable sum to expend in a time of "inflationary crisis." The work, therefore, should be done "piecemeal." Through joint Congressional action and voluntary help, enough money could be raised to restore the large reception hall in the main immigration building and the passages leading to it, and open these to the public in time for the bicentennial.[18]

In November 1974, the NPS held its planned tour of Ellis for a group of ethnic leaders, and naturally invited Sammartino to participate. Others who came included Rudolph Vecoli of the University of Minnesota's Center for Immigration Studies (who had been severely critical of the AMI); Edward J. Piazek, Polish community leader; Myron B. Kuropas, Ukrainian Congress; and Michael Sotirhos, United Greek Charities. The guests were appalled at the deteriorated state of the facility and said Congress must demonstrate its interest and concern by appropriating funds to correct the situation. The group decided further that, while pressing the legislators to provide money to open the island to limited visitation, it should seek supplementary help from the private sector. To further these ends the group designated Sammartino temporary chairman of an ad hoc committee to restore Ellis Island.

Sammartino came away from that gathering more determined than ever to achieve their goals quickly. In April 1975 the Restore Ellis Island Committee incorporated as a non-profit organization in the State of New Jersey, with Sammartino as its national chairman. The committee requested that Congress add to the fiscal 1976 budget a supplemental appropriation of $1.5 million to be used for restoring the landing pier, the walk and the stairway to the reception hall, plastering and painting the hall itself, and providing water and outdoor toilets, so that this limited portion of the main immigration building on Ellis Island might be opened to the public by the bicentennial year. To reassure law makers that they would not be taking on huge expenditures in the future for upkeep and further wide-ranging development, the committee suggested that 90 percent of the structures on the island should be torn down, leaving just enough brickwork to give an idea of the former buildings and to form picnic alcoves for visitors.

In the spring of 1975, Sammartino and his wife travelled to Washington to lobby for their proposals. Congressman Edward Patten of New Jersey agreed to draft the required bill. The Sammartinos managed to line up the entire New Jersey congressional delegation and part of New York's behind the legislation. They went to see Congressman Sidney Yates (Democrat-Illinois), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and persuaded him and several other members of that key committee to visit Ellis in May 1975 to see for themselves the crying need for repairs. Sammartino wrote to President Gerald Ford, asking for his support as well.[19]

Meanwhile, NPS officials and the Restore Ellis Island Committee did what they could to obtain media backing for the appropriations bill. Luis Garcia-Curbelo, unit manager of the STLI NM, told reporters he had so far received virtually no money to maintain the immigrant memorial. "I feel like crying" he said. "It's shameful. Ellis Island represents so much to America. We have to take action to preserve it." Alistair Cooke included Ellis Island in his "America" series on public television and Dan Rather of CBS did a short piece about the site for network news. Locally, WCBS-TV endorsed the restoration in a broadcast editorial.

In April 1975, Sammartino drafted a letter to the Secretary of Labor, which was sent over the signature of Garcia-Curbelo, requesting laborers under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). In September the CETA crew set to work, cleaning the first floor and

the great hall on the second floor of the main immigration building, gathering together some of the building's original benches, and clearing the ground around the structure. On November 5, 1975, the NPS held a flag-raising ceremony on the island to honor the Restore Ellis Island Committee and the CETA workers. Sammartino and Jerry Wagers, now director of the North Atlantic Region, spoke of their hopes for the national monument before some 125 guests and members of the press.

All of these efforts paid off when Congress passed the appropriations bill and President Ford signed it into law on January 1, 1976. It provided $1,000,000 for limited rehabilitation and authorized the NPS to use $500,000 of its budget annually for operating expenses. With some money finally assured, the NPS put into action its plans for opening Ellis to the public by the spring.[20]

Responsibility for readying Ellis went to the North Atlantic Regional Office, headed by Jerry Wagers. On January 6 and 7, meetings took place to outline what had to be done. There were follow-up gatherings in Boston in February and New York in April. The participants, including Denis Galvin, associate regional director, Park Service Management; Dick Volpe, regional chief of maintenance; William Hendrickson, superintendent, NYC Group; Ross Holland, associate regional director, Planning and Resource Preservation; STLI NM Unit Manager Luis Garcia-Curbelo; and others, decided that the $1,000,000 appropriation would be used "primarily to establish visitor use on the island and secondarily to preserve the resource there."

They commissioned URS/Madigan-Praeger, Inc., of New York to survey the structural soundness of the main building and assess potential safety hazards to visitors along a proposed tour route. The company found water intrusion had dangerously loosened plaster on walls and ceilings. Structural steel, where visible, was badly rusted, and ice had penetrated masonry, causing ever-widening cracks. These hazards would have to be corrected along the tour route. The survey made it very clear that visitors must not be allowed to stray into other areas.[21]

Laborers were hired to try to make the main immigration building waterproof by repairing the roof, replacing broken windows, opening surface drains, fixing downspouts, and rehabilitating skylights. Work crews also removed loose plaster, cleared away piles of debris in the passageways leading to the historically important areas in the main building, and chopped down overgrown vegetation

surrounding it. Contracts were let out for supplying the island with water, sewer, and toilet facilities, as well as a lighting system. A radio hook-up between Liberty Island and Ellis was installed. To safeguard these improvements the NPS, in May 1976, instituted 24-hour security protection for the former immigration station, bringing to an end the theft and vandalism of the past.

Since complete repair of the seawall was estimated at a cost of more than $4,000,000, the team responsible for readying Ellis decided to limit repairs to the section around the ferry basin. This consisted mainly of putting stones back in place and repointing them.

The Army Corps of Engineers undertook the dredging of the ferry basin. When it became obvious that this operation could not be completed prior to May 1976, the target date for opening, the NPS also arranged for a temporary dock to be installed on the north end of the island, where the water was sufficiently deep to land a 100-passenger boat. William Henrickson asked Francis Barry, president of the Circle Line-Statue of Liberty Ferry, Inc., to obtain a vessel suitable for transporting 100 to 125 visitors at a time from Liberty to Ellis Island. By March, the company had located and chartered such a boat.

Meanwhile, the regional office assigned a task force to develop an interpretive plan. By February, Ed Kallop, now regional curator and a member of that task force, had done so. The guiding principle behind his interim interpretation plan was to help visitors experience how it might have felt to be an immigrant arriving at Ellis in the first two decades of this century. With some modifications suggested by Paul Weinbaum, who succeeded Kallop as AMI curator, the interpretive plan became the one followed by tour guides, starting in May 1976. Those tours were designed to take one hour. Owing to the deteriorated condition of the facility, the tour could show the public only limited parts of the main immigration building, including the great registry room.

With all work proceeding as scheduled, Jerry Wagers could inform an anxious Congressman Yates that Ellis would indeed be ready for regular visitor use by late May. Wagers could also arrange with Dr. Sammartino for the development of appropriately festive opening ceremonies.[22]

NOTES

[1]J. A. Townsely, Supt., NYC NPS Group, Monthly Narrative Report, July 1965; Thomas M. Pitkin, Keepers of the Gate: A History of Ellis Island (New York, 1975), pp. 185-187; The Philip Johnson Plan for the Development of Ellis Island, Blue Folder of Ellis Island Documents, Storage Area, Liberty Island; Townsley, Monthly Narrative Report, February 1966.

[2]Emily Genauer, "The Hazards of Patronage: Venice and Ellis Island," New York Herald Tribune, March 13, 1966; Inez Robb, "The Cult of Instant Ugliness," New York World Telegram and Sun, March 7, 1966; "'The Wall' at Ellis Island," New York Times, February 26, 1966; Ada Louise Huxtable, "The Uses of the Past," New York Times, February 25, 1966; Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978.

[3]The camp buildings were taken over by the New Jersey Regional Drug Abuse Agency. Jersey Journal, March 24, 1969.

[4]Townsley, Monthly Narrative Report, December 1965 and February 1966; Laurence J. Zollar, Acting Superintendent, NYC NPS Group, Monthly Narrative Report, January 1967; Jersey Journal, March 24, 1969; Newark Evening News, January 31, 1968; Maxwell M. Rabb to Stewart L. Udall, March 12, 1965, Ellis Island-National Ellis Island Association, Inc. File, Drawer 2, Administration Building, Liberty Island.

[5]Memo from Northeast Regional Director Ronald F. Lee to Assistant Solicitor Bernard Meyer, August 6, 1965, D22, Ellis Island-National Ellis Island Association Inc. File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Townsley, Monthly Narrative Report, February 1966; Cooperative Agreement Between the Secretary of the Interior and the National Ellis Island Association, Inc., July 12, 1966, National Ellis Island Association File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Memo from William H. Hendrickson, Superintendent NYC NPS Group, to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, June 13, 1975, National Ellis Island Association File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978.

[6]The NPS tried a number of things to stop the theft and vandalism. It asked the Jersey City Police Department to help patrol the shore facing Ellis and keep a eye on the island; a guard was stationed on the premises for eight hours a day and night boat patrols were instituted; doors through which intruders had gained access to buildings

were replaced, barred and chained; and New York City Harbor Police were asked to make a check of Ellis each night and notify NPS officials of any suspicious activities. When intruders were caught, the NPS indicated its willingness to prosecute them. But, nothing short of installing an electrical alarm system and posting round-the-clock guards could totally secure the facility, and these measures would cost more than the NPS could afford. Harlan Unrau, "Administrative History of Ellis Island: 1954-1982," and Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, June-September 1966, January 1967, March 1967.

[7]United States Department of Interior, STLI NM, New York (includes Ellis Island), March 2, 1973, AMI, Ellis Island Data File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's Files, Liberty Island; Unrau, "Administrative History of Ellis Island"; "Ellis Island at Low Point in Its History," New York Times, March 5, 1968; Milton C. Markowitz, Regional Director, GSA, to Superintendent Newell H. Foster, STLI NM, July 3, 1963; Walter J. Nitkiewicz, Museum Specialist (Art), Inspection of Murals-Ellis Island; Memo from Ralph H. Lewis, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Regional Director, NERO, December 20, 1967, D62, Museum and Exhibit Activites (AMI) 1968 File, Storage Area, Liberty Island.

In 1970 the GSA undertook a program to locate and salvage many of the art works created by members of the WPA Art Projects in the 1930s. As a part of this effort GSA representatives visited Ellis Island and found about 80 feet of the Laning mural salvageable. In 1971, over an eight-day period, the mural was removed from the dining room walls and taken to a New York studio for restoration. The GSA hung the restored mural in the Brooklyn Federal Court House.

[8]New York Times, March 5, 1968; Townsley, Monthly Narrative Report, July 1965, December 1965; Acting Superintendent Zollar, Monthly Narrative Report, January, 1967; Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978; Memo from Acting Assistant Director, Coop. Activities, to Regional Director, NERO, November 5, 1968, D18, Master Plan-Ellis Island GMP-Ellis Island File, Drawer 1, Administration Building; United States Department of Interior, NPS, "A Master Plan for Ellis Island," June 1968, pp. 4, 15, 16, 20.

[9]"A Master Plan for Ellis Island," June 1968, pp. 4, 17-18, 16; Ernest Allen Connally, chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, to Director, NPS, January 10, 1969, Statue of Liberty File, Drawer 5, Artifact Room.

Among those who felt the hospital and kitchen buildings should be retained were Ronald F. Lee, chairman, Special Committee on Historic Preservation; Henry Judd, chief, Branch of Restoration; and Joseph Watterson, chief, Division of Historic Architecture. See Lee to Director, NPS, July 17, 1969 and Joseph Watterson to Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, July 29, 1968, STLI NM (brown) File, Drawer 5, Artifact Room; E. A. Connally to Director, January 10, 1969, Statue of Liberty File, Drawer 5.

[10]The team that wrote the report included C. Gordon Cummings, engineer; Judson Ball, architect; and David Schmidt, landscape designer.

[11]Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978; Estimate for Master Plan Implementation, April 10, 1970, "A Master Plan for Ellis Island."

[12]New York Times, March 17, 1970.

[13]There is evidence that the President favored this course of action since Nixon had shortly before granted special clemency to Matthew, releasing him early from a six-month jail sentence for tax evasion, so that the doctor could pursue his self-help projects for blacks. See New York Times, January 9, 1970.

[14]"NEGRO: Creating Our Own GNP," Newsweek, September 28, 1970; New York Times, August 20, 1970, August 21, 1970; Staten Island Advance, August 2, 1970; NEGRO, "The New Immigrant, America Still the Best Hope," no date; Memo from Ari Hoogenboom to Unit Manager via Museum Curator, June 19, 1974, Ellis Island Data File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's Files; Special Use Permit, Ellis Island/STLI NM and NEGRO, August 19, 1970, Ellis Island-NEGRO (Dr. Matthew occupation of) File, Drawer 2, Administration Building.

[15]United States Public Health Service, Environmental Health Service, Leroy G. Marin, Ellis Island Environmental Inspection Tour, September 23, 1970, Ellis Island-NEGRO (Dr. Matthew occupation of) File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; United States Public Health Service, Follow-up Inspection--Ellis Island, April 1, 1971, L30, Land Use Ellis Island, 1971-1974 File, Drawer 1, Administration Building; Jerry D. Wagers, director, New York District, to Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, April 2, 1973, Blue Folder of Ellis Island Documents, Storage Area.

[16]Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978; Memo from J. Wagers, director, New York District to Director, WASO, through Director, NERO, December 14, 1972, Blue Folder of Ellis Island Documents, Storage Area; Memo from C. L. Brooks, director, NERO, to Director, NPS, April 25, 1973, L-30, Land Use-Ellis Island, 1971-74 File, Drawer 1, Administration Building; "Ellis Island--Options," April 1973, pp. 1, 2-6.

[17]"Ellis Island--Options," April 1973, p. 6; Memo from Ernest A. Connally, associate director, Prof. Services, to Director of Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, August 17, 1973, D18, Blue Ellis Island Briefing File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Memo from Ed Kallop, museum curator, to Superintendent Batman, August 13, 1973, Ellis Island Miscellaneous Notes File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's Files.

[18]Memo from Richard McKiernan, through Assistant Director for Public Affairs, to Director, NPS, November 14, 1974, D18, Blue Ellis Island Briefing Folder, Drawer 2, Administration Building; "Brief History of the Restore Ellis Island Committee," EI-Restore Ellis Island Committee-Dr. Sammartino File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Peter Sammartino to Harrison A. Williams, Jr., July 19, 1974, Blue EI Briefing Folder, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Memo from E. Kallop, museum curator, to Unit Manager STLI NM, June 27, 1974, EI Miscellaneous Notes File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's files; Sammartino to Secretary of Interior Morton, July 8, 1974 and August 19, 1974, Blue EI Briefing Folder; Ellis Island Information Sheet sent to Secretary Morton, members of Congress, etc., March 27, 1975, EI-Restore EI Committee-Dr. Sammartino File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Sammartino, "Restoration Plea for Ellis Island," The Star-Ledger, October 23, 1974.

[19]Memo from Richard McKiernan, through Assistant Director for Public Affairs to Director, NPS, November 14, 1974, Blue EI Briefing Folder; "Brief History of the Restore Ellis Island Committee;" EI Information Sheet sent to members of Congress, EI-Restore EI Committee-Dr. Sammartino File; Memo from William Hendrickson, superintendent NYC NPS Group, to Director, NARO, January 14, 1975, Blue EI Briefing Folder; Sammartino to Director, NPS, Gary E. Everhardt, April 16, 1975, Blue EI Briefing Folder; Jeannie Mandelker, "The Restoration of Ellis Island," master's thesis, Columbia University, 1976, pp. 10-11, EI-Feasibility Study File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; STLI NM Unit Manager Luis Garcia-Curbelo, Monthly Highlights, May 1975; Sammartino to President

Gerald Ford, June 26, 1975, and Nathaniel P. Reed, assistant secretary of interior, to Sammartino, July 18, 1975. Restore EI Committee-Dr. Sammartino File, Drawer 2, Administration Building.

[20]Jill Rifkin, "Ellis Island: Sinking Into the Waters of History," The Downtown Herald, May 16, 1975; Mandelker, "The Restoration of Ellis Island," p. 21; Memo from William Hendrikson, superintendent, NY Group, to Regional Director, April 24, 1975, Restore Ellis Island Committee-Sammartino File; Sammartino to Luis Garcia-Curbelo, April 3, 1975, and Garcia-Curbelo to Secretary of Labor John T. Dunlop, April 3, 1975, EI-Restore EI Committee-Dr. Sammartino File; Luis Garcia-Curbelo, Bi-Weekly Highlights, September 1-15, 1975; United States Department of Interior, NPS, News Release, October 28, 1975; Dedication of EI, November 5, 1975, A8215, Drawer 1, Administration Building; Chronology of EI Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," 1978.

[21]Memo from J. Wagers, director, NARO, to Superintendent, NYC NPS Group, January 16, 1976, Ellis Island-Ready File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Memo from David A. Richie, acting regional director, NARO, to Superintendent NYC NPS Group, March 1, 1976, Ellis Island File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Memo from Ross Holland, associate regional director, Planning and Resource Preservation, to Deputy Regional Director, April 13, 1976, Organization (EI) File, Drawer 1, Administration Building; United States Department of Interior, NPS, Ellis Island Condition Survey, by URS/Madigan-Praeger, Inc., May 1976, pp. 1-3.

[22]David L. Moffitt, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976, STLI NM; J. Wagers to David J. Bardin, commissioner of environmental protection, New Jersey, March 16, 1976, Ellis Island File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; William Hendrickson, superintendent, NYC NPS Group, to John Zammit, chief, Operations Division, NY District, Army Corps of Engineers, March 11, 1976, EI File, Drawer 2; J. L. Norwood, acting regional director, to Sidney R. Yates, April 16, 1976, EI File, Drawer 2; F. J. Burry to William Hendrickson, March 25, 1976, EI File, Drawer 2; Memo from Denis Galvin, associate regional director, Park System Management, NARO, to Superintendent, NYC NPS Group, February 13, 1976, and "Interim Interpretation at Ellis Island," EI File, Drawer 2; Memo from L. Garcia-Curbelo, Unit Manager, STLI NM, through Superintendent NYC NPS Group to Regional Director, NARO, EI File, Drawer 2; Review with Interpretive Staff of EI Interpretation by Ed Kallop, October 15, 1976, EI Operation File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's Files.

CHAPTER 7

THE SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS AND FUNDING CONTINUES, 1976-1980

On May 28, 1976, some twenty-two years after the Immigration Service abandoned its famous property, formal opening ceremonies took place on Ellis Island. Regional Director Jerry Wagers welcomed the assembled guests, who included Senator James Buckley (Republican-New York) and three members of the state's congressional delegation: Representatives Elizabeth Holtzman, Bella Abzug and John Murphy. Associate Director of the NPS Ernest A. Connally and Peter Sammartino, who had been so instrumental in bringing about this occasion, each spoke of their satisfaction that in the bicentennial year the public could at last visit this historic site.

The next day regularly scheduled tours began. A ferry carried visitors from Liberty Island to Ellis six times a day, seven days a week through the summer and into the early fall. During those months more than 45,000 persons took the one-hour tours. NPS guides conducted a poll among them, finding the majority wanted to see the facilities fully or at least partly restored.

The Park Service discontinued the tours for the winter and reopened the immigration station in May 1977. Ferries left for the island four times daily from Battery Park in lower Manhattan and three times from Liberty State Park in New Jersey. A writer for The New Yorker, who took a tour one Saturday in the 1977 season, recorded these impressions: "...the ruins are handsome and probably would make a good spooky place to wander around in, [but] the Park Service doesn't allow such freedom." The guide kept reminding his group, "please, please stay with him, because he would hate it if one of them should step in a hole or be hit by a falling piece of plaster." Both dangers seemed slight to the reporter, "since a good number of the areas [through which they passed] were protected with special plywood passageways constructed by the Park Service." The writer pronounced the hour-long guided tour "pleasant," with perhaps the best moment coming at the end when the visitor emerged from the main immigration

building and looked out at Manhattan. It is "a view that takes in the western shore all the way from the financial district to the skyscrapers of midtown....[A]nd it still holds that promise of prosperity which many would-be Americans must have heard when they set out from Europe."[1]

While the public could now see limited parts of the main immigration building, the $1,000,000 appropriated by Congress in 1976 certainly had not made it possible for NPS to arrest further deterioration of the facilities, nor to proceed with significant restoration. During the summer of 1977, Gerald Karr, an architect from the Denver Service Center, conducted a survey at Ellis that underscored this point:

> Almost every architectural component in the Main Building is damaged in some way... [P]laster, floors, drains, windows, paint, wood trim, ornament, toilets, millwork, stairs...[are] severely deteriorated and require repair or replacement.
>
> All [other] structures share the same problems with the Main Building: no heat, ruined finishes, defective drains, some structural damage, and leaking roofs.

Karr estimated that just to halt the deterioration of structural components and architectural finishes and to provide minimal safety equipment would cost at least $2.5 million.

It was also becoming obvious that the entire seawall surrounding Ellis had to be repaired to prevent the island from eroding. The engineering firm of URS/Madigan, under contract with the NPS, made a survey of the necessary work and estimated its cost. They found total rehabilitation would require about $5 million.

These reports indicated that even if Congress eventually appropriated all of the $6 million that it had originally approved for development of the historic site, the sum would not cover the most essential needs. Consequently, in November 1977 Congressmen Jonathan Bingham (Democrat-New York) and Edward Koch (Democrat-New York) sponsored House Joint Resolution 651 to increase the ceiling authorization to $50 million. Bingham testified on behalf of the bill before the Interior Subcommittee in 1978, and the New York City Council also called upon Congress to make additional funds available to restore Ellis. Late in 1978, Congress finally passed

and the President signed the National Parks and Recreation Act, which contained a reduced authorization for the island of $24 million.[2]

While this measure was working its way through the legislative process, NPS Director William Whalen, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, appointed a study team to identify additional management and use options for Ellis Island. The team,[3] headed by Ted McCann, produced a report in May 1978, which found that since 1965, when the NPS took over the property, it had spent only $2.5 million on its care. In addition, much of that funding had been released only due to outside pressures (Restore Ellis Island Committee) and in the interest of the bicentennial celebration. Over all, the report charged, "...little interest and even less money has relegated the site into a second-class member of the National Park System."

The team found that "years of neglect, vandalism and the natural forces of an island environment" had taken a heavy toll, and millions of dollars were urgently needed "to save, much less restore, parts or all of the site's physical structures and its future usefulness as a park..." At a minimum, the seawall had to be rebuilt; permanent sewage and water supply systems, with mainland connections, should be installed; all structures to be retained should be supplied with modern heating, ventilating and air-conditioning facilites; and up-to-date lighting, telephone, fire-fighting and burglar alarm systems were required.

The 1978 study then outlined five options for developing the property, ranging from the 1968 proposal to demolish all but the main building to "total restoration" of the entire immigration station. Depending on which course was followed, the rough-cost estimates ranged from a low of $25 million to a high of $100 million. Though this document provided useful background data for later NPS planning projects, it never received formal approval from the NPS Director or the Secretary of the Interior.[4]

If the estimates in this study were correct, the new authorization would not quite cover even the least costly option; but that was not the most serious problem those responsible for the care of Ellis Island faced. Once again Congress did not follow up its authorization with matching appropriations. All told, between 1978 and 1982, Congress provided about $8 million for development of the facility. This permitted the NPS to carry out some repairs and stabilization, most of it barely visible to the public. Further repairs aimed at water-

proofing the main building were undertaken. The seawall within the ferry slip and in other places was rehabilitated, a septic-tank system was installed, and stone and brick walls were repointed. For a time the NPS was helped with repair and maintenance work by labor provided through the Youth Conservation Corps and the CETA program.[5]

All of this, however, did not prevent further deterioration; it certainly did not answer the question of what should be restored, what stabilized, and what demolished on the island, nor solve the problem of how to obtain funds to implement any plans ultimately adopted. In 1979 and 1980, the Department of the Interior and the NPS tried to address these questions and problems. First, the Park Service created still another planning team, led by Michael Adlerstein, architect/planner.[6] The group went to work in 1979 and by December 1980 issued an Analysis of Alternatives for a general management plan that "explored a range of possible actions for management and development" of both the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. The document discussed four alternative courses of action concerning the former immigration station: minimal preservation and use at a cost of $32,700,000; total preservation and use of all thirty-three structures at $77,800,000; the planning team's preferred alternative at $54,050,000; and implementation of the 1968 plan, now estimated to cost $42,950,000.

The team's preferred alternative might be described as a plan for modest, but more than minimal preservation, leaving open the possibility of further development at some future date if substantial private donations came to supplement public resources. Accordingly, this plan recommended that the main immigration building (including the railroad ticket office), the baggage and dormitory building, and the kitchen and laundry building should be preserved with public and private funds. Exteriors of these three structures should not be altered, but extensive repairs should be carried on inside them. Most of the interior of the three would be devoted to interpretation of two main themes: "the immigrant experience at Ellis Island and the broader concept of immigration to America." Some space would also be utilized for administrative and management purposes and museum support activities, such as storage for artifacts and offices for museum staff, thereby alleviating the acute shortage of space on Liberty Island that had been a problem from the Museum's opening. The rest of the structures on island one (powerhouse, greenhouse, bakery and carpentry building) should be preserved and adapted for various uses by the NPS and/or non-profit ethnic organizations, which might want to prepare exhibits and sponsor special events (Fig. 6).

The preferred plan also recommended retaining the hospital buildings facing the ferry slip and the ferry building at the head of it. These structures, however, would be stabilized, not preserved. That is, just enough would be done to make them weather resistant and structurally sound, but there would be almost no internal repairs or adaptation, and they would not be heated in winter. Visitors, consequently, would not be permitted inside, though they could walk around the outside of the buildings.

The team suggested, further, that the NPS leave the remaining buildings on the property as they were--no preservation, no stabilization, but no demolition, either. Because of possible safety hazards public access to their vicinity would be barred.

The sunken ferry boat, the team believed, was beyond repair. Its rotted wooden superstructure should be removed, the metal hull left on the bottom of the slip.[7]

The NPS attempted to obtain wide reaction and comment on the Analysis of Alternatives and its recommendations. It distributed copies to the congressional delegations of New York and New Jersey, to state legislators, and to city officials, as well as a number of special federal and state agencies, such as the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the New York and New Jersey State Historic Preservation Offices. Additionally, the NPS prepared an attractive poster-brochure, which briefly summarized the four alternatives set forth in the Analysis of Alternatives and mailed 1,000 of these to interested individuals. In the Federal Register the Park Service announced that it would schedule six public meetings to discuss the document. These were subsequently held during January 1981 in the five boroughs of New York City and in Newark and Jersey City. Only eighty people attended these meetings. Another 200 persons participated in briefings on the Analysis at informal meetings with NPS personnel during January and February. All told, the NPS received written commentary from twenty-seven organizations and fifteen individuals.

During this extensive review process, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the New York and New Jersey state historic preservation officers expressed concern that the study team's preferred alternative would allow potentially useful historic buildings on Ellis Island to deteriorate further. There were individuals within the Park Service who agreed and had long felt that an effort

should be made to preserve the entire immigration complex. These sentiments, however, presented the NPS with a dilemma. With inflation arousing national alarm and budget deficits soaring, Congress and the in-coming administration of President Ronald W. Reagan were most unlikely to provide the needed $54,000,000, let alone support more ambitious plans.

The Park Service thought it saw some possible ways out of the dilemma. Congress, at the end of 1980, amended the National Historic Preservation Act, giving the NPS authority to lease historic structures to private tenants and to use the revenue thus obtained for historic preservation work. This opened up the possibility of raising needed money by renting buildings on Ellis Island that the NPS did not require for historical interpretation.[8] The Park Service, in addition, turned its hopes to procuring large contributions from private sources, reversing a position it had taken earlier.

As far back as November 1975, Peter Sammartino, chairman of the Restore Ellis Island Committee, had written to Jerry Wagers, requesting official recognition of his group as "a fund raising organization for Ellis Island." Early in 1976, Nathaniel P. Reed, assistant secretary, Fish, Wildlife and Parks, speaking for the Department, discouraged Sammartino from launching any public drive for donations:

> Our experience...suggest[s] that we really can only expect a small fraction of what would be needed for something called an Ellis Island restoration. Whatever money your Committee was able to gather in would just not allow very much additional effective work to be completed.
>
> If the general public were to volunteer their dimes and dollars to "Restore Ellis Island," they very well will be disappointed in what they see is done at the Island in the context of all the disrepair that is present.

Despite this earlier pessimism about the efficacy of public fund raising, Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus signed a Memorandum of Agreement in December 1980, with the Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Inc. (as the Restore Ellis Island Committee was now called) and its president, Philip Lax, who had succeeded Sammartino when the latter retired in 1978. The agreement provided that

the commission should "engage in fund raising and receive philanthropic contributions," such funds to be placed in a "special Ellis Island donation account" used for "the preservation and rehabilitation of Ellis Island and/or the conduct of programs and activities at or in behalf of Ellis Island." Before the commission began its public appeal, however, it was engulfed in and became part of a broader planning and money-raising effort for the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island and the celebration of their respective centennials in 1986 and 1992. Let us proceed, then, in the concluding chapter, to examine these activities.[9]

NOTES

[1]Program--Opening Ceremonies for Ellis Island, Friday, May 28, 1976, Duplicates File, Artifact Room; David L. Moffitt, superintendent, STLI NM, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976; United States Department of the Interior, NPS, News release, May 5, 1977, Press Releases 1976-77, Drawer 1, Administration Building; "Ellis Island," The New Yorker, July 11, 1977, pp. 20-21.

[2]Proposal for Treatment, Ellis Island, prepared by Gerald Karr, architect, DSC, 1977, Appendix, "Ellis Island Study," May 1978; Moffitt, Superintendent's Annual Report for 1976; Chronology of Ellis Island Under NPS Management, "Ellis Island Study," May 1978; New York Times, December 6, 1978; Philadelphia Inquirer, January 7, 1979.

[3]The team members included Ted McCann, Sylvia Cabrera, Richard Giamberdine, Gerald Karr, Paul Lederer, David L. Moffitt, and Nancy Schmitz. They received help from Joseph Antosca, Richard Bowser, F. Ross Holland, Edward Kallop, Michael Tennant and Paul Weinbaum.

[4]"Ellis Island Study," May 1978; Unrau, "Administrative History of Ellis Island: 1954-1982"; United States Department of Interior, NPS, Analysis of Alternatives (Environmental Assessment) for the General Management Plan, STLI NM NY/NJ, p. 82.

[5]Author's interview with David L. Moffitt, superintendent STLI NM, December 3, 1983; Gary R. Catron, assistant to the Secretary and Director of Congressional and Legislative Affairs, Department of the Interior, to Senator Charles H. Percy, February 13, 1979, D18, Planning Programs-Ellis Island File, Drawer 1, Administrative Building; David L. Moffitt, superintendent STLI NM, to Edward I. Koch, June 6, 1977, D18, Ellis Planning Program, 1977 File, Drawer 1, Administrative Building; Cecil D. Andrus, Secretary of Interior, to Jacob K. Javits, March 18, 1977, D18, Ellis Planning Program, 1977 File; D. Moffitt, Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1977, 1979, 1980, STLI NM.

[6]Other members of the planning teams included David L. Moffitt, superintendent STLI NM; Rolf Diamont, landscape architect/planner, NARO; Dan Huff, environmental planner, DSC; Michael Paskowski, interpretive planner, HFC; Jane Scott, historian/planner, DSC; Les Siroky, historical architect, DSC; Gail Slemmer, editor, DSC; Michael Tennant, chief of Visitor Services, STLI NM; Kevin Tremble, transportation planner, DSC; Norma Turner, community planner, DSC; Harlan Unrau, historian, DSC.

[7]United States Department of the Interior, NPS Analysis of Alternatives, STLI NM, December 1980, pp. 89-90, 35-46.

[8]United States Department of the Interior, NPS, General Management Plan Statue of Liberty National Monument, September 1982, pp. 42-43, 1; United States Department of Interior, NPS, Statue of Liberty, Ellis Island, "Summary of the Analysis of Alternatives for Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island."

[9]Peter Sammartino, chairman, Restore Ellis Island Committee, to Jerry D. Wagers, director, NARO, November 21, 1975, Restore Ellis Island Committee-Sammartino File, Drawer 2, Administration Building; Nathaniel P. Reed, assistant secretary, Fish, Wildlife, Parks, to P. Sammartino, February 5, 1976, Restore Ellis Island Committee-Sammartino File; Memo from Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, Parks to Secretary of Interior, November 25, 1980; Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Interior and Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Inc., December 12, 1980; Philip Lax to Officers and Executive Committee of Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Inc., January 6, 1981, A44, Memos of Agreement with Federal, State, Local Agencies File, Administrative Building; Author's interview with D. L. Moffitt, superintendent, STLI NM, December 3, 1982.

CHAPTER 8

PREPARING FOR THE CENTENNIALS OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY AND ELLIS ISLAND

Preparations for the 100th anniversaries of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island may be said to have started as early as 1979, when the National Park Service created the planning team captained by Michael Adlerstein. That group explored possible management and development alternatives not only for Ellis Island, but for the Statue of Liberty and the American Museum of Immigration as well. In its December 1980 Analysis of Alternatives, the team suggested that the summer visitor's long wait to climb to the statue's crown and the uncomfortable crowding in the monument's interior might be alleviated by instituting early-warning and numbered-ticket systems. Signs erected near the boat-ticket booths at the Battery in Manhattan and Liberty State Park in New Jersey would advise people about to purchase tickets for the trip of the current waiting time for the walk to the crown. The message on the signs could be continually adjusted as conditions changed. Arriving on Liberty Island, the visitor would obtain a numbered ticket enabling him/her to estimate the time at which to start up the stairs; until then the person would be free to explore other attractions, such as the museum of immigration.[1]

The team also offered proposals concerning the museum. In its ability to do justice to the story of immigration, the AMI had always been handicapped by space limitations in the third floor exhibit area within the statue's base. To "increase the visibility of the museum and create additional opportunities for visitors to learn about the history of American immigration," the team recommended that operation of the museum at the statue should continue, but the AMI should also expand to appropriate spots on Ellis Island as that facility was rehabilitated. Room on Ellis could be devoted to AMI administrative offices, research activities, storage and conservation of artifacts, program preparation, and mounting of addi-

tional exhibits. The team also considered expansion of the museum to a mainland site (such as Castle Clinton) as a second, though less desirable alternative.

As far as access to the Statue of Liberty National Monument was concerned, the Analysis of Alternatives recommended that year-round ferry service be provided to both Liberty and Ellis Islands from terminals in Manhattan and Jersey City. Additionally, a shuttle boat between the two islands should operate approximately every thirty minutes.[2]

The planning team did not, however, deal with one topic of importance: the physical condition of the lady in the harbor. Park officials, from their own observations, were aware that the interior facilities of the Statue of Liberty needed repair and modernization. Across the Atlantic, Philippe Vallery-Radot, a French national, while watching the repair of the statue of Vercingetorix, was reminded of another metal structure, which had been standing on Liberty Island for nearly a century. Later, when he learned that the monument required internal work, he resolved to make restoration a Franco-American project. In February 1981, French representatives for Vallery-Radot presented his ideas to Russell E. Dickenson, director of the NPS, and in May, a French-American Committee was formed. The committee defined its goals as follows: to take necessary actions to restore the statue, to install in the statue's pedestal a museum dedicated to Franco-American friendship, to help prepare the monument's centennial celebration, and after the centennial, to continue furthering Franco-American cultural relations.

The Department of the Interior formally recognized a working relationship with the French-American Committee for the Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, on May 26, 1981, when Russell Dickenson, for the NPS, and Philippe Vallery-Radot, Vera Laure Vallery-Radot, and Jacques De Broissia, trustees of the committee, signed a memorandum of agreement. According to its terms, the committee would not only "assist in the restoration and preservation of the Statue of Liberty as a historical resource," but would also "engage in fundraising and receive philanthropic contributions." Any money it donated, the NPS would place in a special Statue of Liberty account and would use solely for work on the monument or for the conduct of programs and activities at or on behalf of the statue. The following month, the French-American Committee incorporated as a non-profit, fund-raising body under the statutes of the State of New York.[3]

At the time the NPS and the French-American Committee signed their memorandum of agreement, representatives of the committee proposed hiring a team of architects and engineers to prepare a preliminary technical report on the condition of the statue and what work needed to be done on it. The committee engaged a group of four architects and engineers (Philippe Granjean, Jean Levron, Pierre Tissier, and Jacques Moutard), who visited Liberty Island in May 1981 and again in June, October, and December, as well as in March 1982. They worked closely with NPS Regional Historical Architect Blaine Cliver, and by December 1981 had turned out a study entitled French Technical Report on Restoring the Statue of Liberty: Preliminary Findings. The team presented its conclusions and proposals to the NPS at a meeting in Washington on December 17, 1981, and these were further reviewed in joint discussions between the French-American Committee and the Park Service on March 5, 1982, also in the capital.[4]

The technical report began with an assessment of the condition of the monument. It stated that the "backbone" of the statue's skeleton, the central pylon, consisting of four I-shaped girders, braced with cross-beams and cross-braces, seemed to be in excellent shape. The frame, made up of flat bars running from the pylon girders to the armature, and the rest platforms attached to them, presented a less favorable appearance. While most of these flat bars exhibited little evidence of corrosion, they had been "affected by warping and buckling." If that condition were not corrected, the team predicted, it could eventually lead to sagging and deformation of the statue. Corrosion had set in at two locations on the frame: the rest platform at the head level and the torch-bearing right arm. (These conditions were clearly visible and had already been noticed by staff at the Park.) The connection of this arm's frame with the central pylon showed definite signs of strain, requiring repair. Because of the torch's design and its poor condition, rain had been infiltrating the extended arm, producing "severe corrosion" in the frame there, especially where the hand holds the torch. The French investigators also found some corroded girders among the cross-network or lattice of these between the top of the pedestal and the bottom of the central pylon.

Working from the core of the monument outward, the engineers next encountered the armature, 750 horizontal and 600 vertical flat iron ribs or bands. These come between the frame and the copper sheets of the skin or envelope, to which they are attached by 1,500 saddles.

The technical investigators discovered that the insulation originally installed to prevent the iron ribs from touching the copper sheets had disappeared and the contact between the two metals had produced rusting and decomposition. They warned that the corroded iron bands had to be replaced with new ribs made of a metal that does not react with copper, such as stainless steel and/or copper.

Continuing on to the monument's outside surface, the team observed that the copper skin or envelope appeared to be in good condition, although they recommended further studies to confirm or contradict their judgment. They did, however, note one critical exception. The copper sheathing in the statue's torch had grown dangerously thin after decades of exposure to rain and pollution. Indeed, the torch was in such a bad state that they doubted it could be stabilized. "It may have to be taken down and replaced in order to avoid any possible accident," the French engineers counseled.

The stairway within the monument the team declared unacceptable as well. It was too narrow and steep to meet present standards for public safety and comfort. Surrounded by wire mesh, overcrowded and too hot much of the time, it also did not give the climber much chance "to appreciate from the inside the work of Bartholdi and Eiffel."

After these preliminary observations, recommendations were made. Priority should be given to restoring the armature, replacing the torch, and repairing the connection between the frame of the right arm and the pylon. Next, the Park Service should partially repair the frame and the platforms. Laboratory tests on the copper skin (outside and in) should be conducted to determine if any treatment was required, and missing rivets and/or deteriorated copper sheets should be replaced. The team also advised cleaning the paint off the central pylon to make sure no hidden cracks existed underneath.

When it came to modernizing the stairway, the report offered alternative proposals "A" and "B." The "A" plan called for constructing a straight, double-flight staircase outside the central pylon, thus providing the visitor with a "panoramic view of the statue's interior." Two transparent, hydraulic elevators would be installed inside the pylon for security purposes and to give access to handicapped persons. Four intermediate platforms would give climbers a chance to rest or switch from up to down staircase, and serve as elevator stops. This scheme

would necessitate remodeling much of the existing frame. The "B" proposal was more modest. A new, widened circular stairway inside the central pylon would replace the old, unsafe and uncomfortable one.

The French engineers agreed with the NPS that something had to be done about overcrowding inside the monument. Rather than a system of warning signs and numbered tickets, their report recommended that an electronic, rotating turnstile be used to regulate admissions. An electronic meter would automatically lock a gate when the capacity number had entered. This same device would start up a ventilation system inside the statue. The team also advised installing metal detectors to enhance security of the monument.

Impressed with the preliminary technical report, in March 1982 NPS Director Dickenson requested that the French-American Committee have the same team of French engineers and architects undertake a detailed feasibility study of the restoration and modernization work. The committee and the team agreed.[5]

Even before the group had proceeded very far with its assignment, the Park Service realized that the repairs would cost at least $20 million.[6] It was unlikely that the French-American Committee could raise such a sum by itself. The 1980 Analysis of Alternatives had endorsed, in addition, a rehabilitation plan for Ellis Island that would require $54,000,000. The prospect that the Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Inc., could provide that money was also doubtful. Where, then, could the NPS find the funds for fixing up both sites in time for their respective centennials in 1986 and 1992?

Given the political climate in Washington, large congressional appropriations appeared out of the question. By 1982, the administration of President Ronald Reagan was attempting a wholesale cutback on domestic spending generally and actively pushing the idea that reductions in federal financing would be compensated for by increased private sector contributions to the arts, science, culture and welfare. In line with this new direction, the President and Secretary of the Interior James G. Watt announced in May 1982 the formation of a 21-member Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Centennial Commission. It would be chaired by Lee Iacocca, head of the Chrysler Corporation, whose parents had entered the United States through Ellis, and whose contacts with the business world were looked upon as a valuable asset. The commission was to serve as "an umbrella group coordinating private activities on

behalf of both installations"; the French-American Committee and the Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Inc., became two of its constituent parts.[7] The new umbrella group would seek "to raise as much as $100 million from private sources" for restoration of both sites in time for their centennials. Further, members of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Commission would "advise the Secretary on preservation needs, the projected use of facilities and the programs associated with the upcoming centennials." The commission members would serve two-year terms, and the organization was expected to live on through 1992.[8]

Optimistic about the fund-raising capabilities of the commission, the NPS prepared a General Management Plan for the Statue of Liberty National Monument that outlined what it intended to do on each island. Michael Adlerstein, who had led the group which drew up the earlier Analysis of Alternatives for the General Mangement Plan, headed the planning team that wrote the 1982 document as well.[9]

The existence of the Iacocca Commission and of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1980 led the planners to adopt a scheme for Ellis Island that was rather different from the preferred alternative of the 1980 Analysis. The General Management Plan endorsed preserving the entire Ellis complex and returning its thirty-three buildings "to active life by devoting major historic structures to public use and interpretation and by making the contributing structures available for adaptive use." The document also envisioned preserving thousands of artifacts "that are extant on Ellis Island and those that have been donated by families of immigrants to develop a collection that will record and convey the Ellis Island story." These ambitious plans would cost anywhere between $88,000,000 and $121,800,000.

The document went on to spell out the details. With funds raised by the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Centennial Commission the NPS would preserve and interpret "all of the spaces that are most closely associated with the immigrants' experiences":

> the baggage room, the registry room, and the original dormitories (on the first, second, and third floors in the core of the main building), one of the rooms used by the social service agencies (on the first floor of the west wing), one of the legal inquiry rooms (on the second floor of the west wing), the later dormitory/ detention rooms (on the second floor of the

kitchen and laundry building), and the railroad ticket office (adjoining the first floor of the main building).

These spaces would, of course, be open to the public. The rest of the main building would be adapted by the NPS for visitor support services and staff work space.

Also utilizing whatever monies the commission might provide, the NPS would preserve the exteriors of as many buildings as possible, while the interiors would be adapted for use either by the Park Service or private organizations under a lease agreement or concession contract. Private tenants might also engage in exterior preservation treatment on buildings that were not essential to historic interpretation. The NPS would rehabilitate the grounds around the main immigration building, and the leaseholders around the areas adapted for their use. To test possible interest among private parties, the NPS placed press advertisements in December 1981 seeking proposals from potential tenants and concessionaires and received some responses.

The General Management Plan was approved by Herbert S. Cables, Jr., director of the North Atlantic Region, in September 1982, but National Park Service Director Dickenson withheld his approval. No leases with private organizations were signed, at the request of Lee Iacocca and other commission members, who wanted more time to study the question of which spaces should be leased and which interpreted by the NPS.

In June 1982, the NPS did adopt an interpretive prospectus for Ellis Island which had been prepared by the Harpers Ferry Center. The prospectus stated the purpose of interpretation was "to capture the essence of the immigrant processing experience...," as well as objectively presenting "Ellis Island as a benevolent institution with the best interest of the immigrants at heart, despite some instances of corruption and abuse." Additional issues to be treated included what "promoted massive immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" and "the changes of American immigration policy and administration, and their impact on Ellis Island." Eventually NPS guides would also discuss the physical development of the site from military facility to immigration station, and its later use as a World War II detention center and then Coast Guard installation.[10]

When it dealt with the Statue of Liberty, the 1982 General Management Plan followed closely the preferred alternatives listed in the 1980 Analysis of Alternatives. The 1982 document again recommended instituting an early-warning and numbered-ticket arrangement to alleviate crowding on the monument's stairways. The plan, in addition, recognized and pledged to continue the work already initiated by the French-American Committee:

> A study will be conducted to evaluate the structural requirements for the internal system and the skin [of the statue], and also the connections between the two systems. A concurrent study will be conducted to evaluate ways of improving access to the crown. Improved elevator technology as well as new configurations for the stairway will be explored to see if it is possible to improve access to the crown without significantly impacting the historic fabric of the statue or incurring undue cost.

The General Management Plan also continued along the lines of the earlier Analysis of Alternatives in its discussion of transportation to the two islands but filled in specific details. It stated that by the spring of 1986 shuttle service between Liberty and Ellis Islands would begin, with a boat designed for 200 to 400 passengers, operating between the north dock on Liberty Island and the cove at Ellis approximately every thirty minutes. By 1992, with preservation work presumably completed at Ellis, year-round boat service to both islands from Manhattan and Liberty State Park in New Jersey, as well as some combined-loop trips, would be instituted. As visitation increased, especially to Ellis, the ferry fleet would be expanded to six vessels, from its current four. The ultimate objective would be a ferry schedule and an increased fleet capable of delivering 2,000 passengers per hour to Liberty Island and 1,200 to Ellis.[11]

On one issue discussed in the Analysis, future development of the American Museum of Immigration, the General Management Plan said nothing. The earlier document had pointed out that the museum's space for exhibits, collection storage, curatorial activities, research, and administration was cramped and inadequate. As a preferred alternative, the 1980 Analysis had suggested expanding AMI functions to Ellis "as appropriate sections of the island are rehabilitated" (Fig. 7). The study had also mentioned possible expansion to a Manhattan site, such as Castle

Clinton, but pointed out that a mainland facility would require costly development, while large available space in historic buildings on Ellis went unoccupied.

During the period of public review of the Analysis of Alternatives, the majority of individuals who commented on the report supported the expansion to Ellis. The American Museum of Immigration, Inc., apparently still fearing Ellis as an unwelcome rival to their museum, favored instead moving additional AMI functions to Castle Clinton. By 1982-83, some members of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Commission and a group of historians that the Park Service consulted at a meeting at the Harpers Ferry Center were suggesting that the entire museum of immigration be redesigned, expanded, and moved to Ellis Island.[12] Since no consensus yet existed on this issue (as of 1982), the team which prepared the General Management Plan chose not to discuss the American Museum of Immigration. It did indicate on diagrams, however, space allocations in the main building on Ellis for museum storage, laboratories, and an oral history and immigrant library.[13]

By the end of 1982, then, planning for the centennial of the Statue of Liberty and of Ellis Island was well underway. How much could be preserved and in what fashion on Ellis Island and how thoroughly the lady in the harbor could be structurally repaired and internally modernized depended, of course, on the success of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Centennial Commission in its private fund-raising effort. That drive was just beginning in 1983.

In nearly one hundred years the story of the colossal monument seemed to have come full cycle. Whereas in the 1880s French and American private citizens had collected donations to build the statue and its pedestal, in the 1980s American and Frenchmen once again joined hands to underwrite repair, rehabilitation and development of the lady with the torch and the former immigration station, so that they could continue into the 21st century to greet and inspire millions of visitors from all lands. If these private efforts fell short of the mark, as happened in the building of the AMI, would the government of the United States recognize the unique historic importance of the Statue of Liberty National Monument and appropriate adequate public resources to finish the worthy undertaking?

NOTES

[1]U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Analysis of Alternatives, STLI NM, pp. 57-58.

[2]Analysis of Alternatives, pp. 59-60, 61-69.

[3]French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, "Statue of Liberty Chronology"; Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of the Interior and the French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, May 26, 1981, Duplicates File, Artifact Room, Liberty Island.

[4]Russell E. Dickenson, director NPS, to Philippe Vallery-Radot, November 6, 1981 and to Roger D'Amecourt, executive vice-president, French-American Committee, March 6, 1982; "Statue of Liberty Chronology," Duplicates File.

[5]French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, French Technical Report on Restoring the Statue of Liberty: Preliminary Findings, by Philippe Grandjean, Jean Levron, Pierre Tissier, Jacques Moutard, December 1981, pp. 3-13, 17-23, 26-28, 39; Duplicates File; "Statue of Liberty Chronology;" R. E. Dickenson, director, NPS, to R. D'Amercourt, March 6, 1982.

[6]Bergen Record, November 15, 1982.

[7]Other commission members included Bob Hope, comedian; Mrs. Delores Hope; Peter G. Peterson, chairman, Lehman Brothers, Kuhn, and Loeb; Armen G. Avedisian, chairman and chief executive officer, Avedisian Company; John Kluge, chairman and president, Metromedia T.V.; Philip Lax, president, Ellis Island Restoration Commission; Philippe Vallery-Radot, president, French-American Committee for the Restoration of the Statue of Liberty; Robert Zochowski, representative of the Governor of New Jersey; Morris Pesin, representative of the Mayor of Jersey City.

[8]U.S. Department of Interior, News Release, May 18, 1982, Press Release File, Drawer P-R, AMI Curator's Files; Donald Paul Hodel, under secretary of interior, to P. Vallery-Radot, president, French-American Committee, May 25, 1982 and James G. Watt, secretary of interior, to Vallery-Radot, May 25, 1982, Duplicates File.

[9]Besides Adlerstein, the team consisted of David L. Moffitt, superintendent, STLI NM; Joe Burdulia, landscape architect/planner, DSC, NY/NJ Support Office; Michael Paskowski, interpretive planner, HFC; Jane Scott, historian/planner, DSC; Les Siroky, historic architect, DSC; Gail Slemmer, editor, DSC; Kevin Tremble, transportation planner, DSC, NY/NJ Support Office; and Harlan Unrau, historian, DSC.

[10]General Management Plan, September 1982, pp. 2, 39, 7-11, 43-44; New York Times, December 14, 1981; Author's interview with David L. Moffitt, superintendent, STLI NM, December 3, 1982; U. S. Department of Interior, NPS, Ellis Island, STLI NM, Interpretive Prospectus, June 1982.

[11]U. S. Department of the Interior, NPS, General Management Plan STLI NM, September 1982, pp. 35, 36-37.

[12]Historians who attended the meeting at Harpers Ferry on May 2 and 3, 1983, included John Higham of Johns Hopkins University; Rudolph Vecoli, University of Minnesota; Roger Daniels, University of Cincinnati; Kathleen Conzen, University of Chicago; Alan Kraut, American University; Mark Stolarik, Balch Institute; and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, Rutgers University. With members of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Centennial Commission and NPS interpretive planners, exhibit designers, and cultural resource managers, they discussed ideas for developing the interpretive program at Ellis Island.

[13]General Management Plan STLI NM, September 1982, pp. 50-51; Author's interview with David L. Moffitt, superintendent STLI NM, Spring 1983, General Management Plan, pp. 15, 19, 20, 27.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Supervisors of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, 1952-1982

Name	Title	Period of service
Newell H. Foster	superintendent	12/5/47 to 8/29/64
Lester McClanahan	management assistant	9/14/64 to 1/14/67
	assistant superintendent	1/15/67 to 7/26/69
Arthur Sullivan	assistant superintendent	7/27/69 to 11/29/70
James Batman	assistant superintendent	11/30/70(?) to 1973
Howard Crane	acting assistant superintendent	1973-4/27/74(?)
Luis Garcia-Curbelo	unit manager	4/28/74 to 12/05/76
David L. Moffitt	superintendent	1/16/77 to present

Appendix B

Annual visitation figures for the Statue of Liberty National Monument

1952	613,010	1971	1,078,084
1953	714,345	1972	1,089,971
1954	797,412	1973	1,125,339
1955	739,364	1974	1,119,201
1956	796,101	1975	1,144,075
1957	850,270	1976	1,473,311
1958	777,330	1977	1,334,289
1959	767,206	1978	1,453,581
1960	768,979	1979	1,605,422
1961	763,499	1980	1,702,562
1962	863,821	1981	1,817,926
1963	847,959	1982	1,724,912
1964	1,026,466		
1965	1,064,516		
1966	1,036,292		
1967	1,071,479		
1968	1,105,261		
1969	1,140,130		
1970	1,104,898		

Source: "Statue Annual Visitation Figures," Administration' Building, Office of Superintendent

Appendix C

Annual visitation figures of Ellis Island (open May through October)

1976	45,138
1977	47,538
1978	47,231
1979	59,615
1980	69,271
1981	66,456
1982	59,589

Source: "Ellis Island Visitation Folder," Administration Building, Office of Superintendent

NOTE ON SOURCES

I. Documents.

A. Records of the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Most of the documents used came from the records of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1952 to 1982. These documents were found primarily at the Statue of Liberty National Monument on Liberty Island in four locations: 1) the Artifact Room in the base of the statue, 2) the Library and Workroom of the American Museum of Immigration (adjacent to the office of the Curator of AMI) in the base of the statue, 3) the Administration Building on Liberty Island, in and adjacent to the office of the Superintendent of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, and 4) the Storage Area, located in one of the residence apartments on the island.

The Artifact Room contains most of the documents pertaining to the statue and to the planning, development and building of the American Museum of Immigration up to the time of its opening in 1972. In addition, the author placed in the Artifact Room a "Duplicates File," containing all documents used in this history of which there were two or more copies. The Library and Workroom contain the files of the curator of the AMI. Most of the documents concerning the immigration museum since 1972 are there, as well as, in many cases, in the "Duplicates File." The documents found in the Administration Building deal mostly with Ellis Island in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; while the Storage Area contains documents pertaining to the statue, the museum and Ellis Island, some of them duplicates of records in the three other places on the island.

In addition to these four collections of NPS records on Liberty Island, this history contains information drawn from Department of Interior, NPS documents located in the Bayonne Records Center of the National Archives. The records found there date from the 1950s and 1960s.

B. Records of the American Museum of Immigration, Inc. The author consulted and used papers of the AMI, Inc., stored in the Artifact Room at the base of the statue on Liberty Island. Contained in a set of file drawers along one wall of the room and marked AMI, Inc., the records pertain to fund-raising, planning and development for the immigration museum.

C. Records of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. Found in Special Collections, New York Public Library, those provided information, about the genesis of the museum of immigration.

II. Reports, Histories, and Press Releases Prepared for or by the U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

This history relies heavily on material contained in reports, histories, and press releases, all of which can be obtained on Liberty Island in one or the other of the four locations described earlier.

A. Reports

1. French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, "French Technical Report on Restoring the Statue of Liberty: Preliminary Findings," by Philippe Grandjean, Jean Levron, Pierre Tissier, Jacques Moutard, December 1981.

2. French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty, "Report to the National Park Service," 1982.

   These two reports, clipped together, can be found in the "Duplicates File," Artifact Room.

3. Thomas M. Pitkin, American Museum of Immigration, STLI NM, Preliminary Draft Prospectus for the American Museum of Immigration, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, 1955. A copy of this report is in the "Duplicates File."

4. Superintendents of the Statue of Liberty National Monument and/or the New York City NPS Group, monthly and annual reports.

These reports, by a variety of names, are in one or another of the four locations on Liberty Island. They supply the best narrative of day-to-day happenings at the STLI NM. Particularly useful for this history were:

a. N. H. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, 1960s

b. J. A. Townsley, Monthly Narrative Reports, 1960s

c. L. McClanahan, Monthly Narrative Reports, late 1960s

d. H. G. Schmidt, Monthly Narrative Reports, 1960s

e. L. Garcia-Curbelo, Unit Manager, Bi-Weekly Highlights and Monthly Highlights, 1970s

f. D. L. Moffitt, Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1976 to 1982

5. Reports on Ellis Island

A Series of these, dating from 1964, make it possible to trace the NPS's problems with, attitudes toward, and plans for this historic site from the time it became a part of the STLI NM. The following were used in this history, and copies of them can all be found on Liberty Island:

a. U.S. Department of Interior, NPS, Ellis Island: A Study Report on Ellis Island (prepared for the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Senate Committee on Government Operations), June 1964

b. _____, A Master Plan for Ellis Island, June 1968

c. _____, "Ellis Island Options," April 1973

d. _____, "Ellis Island Condition Survey," by URS/ Madigan-Praeger, Inc., May 1976

e. _____, "Ellis Study," May 1978

f. _____, Ellis Island, STLI NM, "Interpretive Prospectus," June 1982

6. Reports on Both the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island

Three recent reports on conditions at and plans for development of these two sites, provided much of the information contained in the concluding chapters.

a. U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Analysis of Alternatives (Environmental Assessment) for the General Management Plan, December 1980, STLI, NY/NJ

b. _____, Statue of Liberty, Ellis Island, "Summary of the Analysis of Alternatives for Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island," December 1980

c. _____, General Management Plan, September 1982, STLI NM, NY/NJ

B. Histories

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Statue of Liberty National Monument: Its Origin, Development and Administration, by Walter Hugins, 1958.

This history, relating the story of the statue from its beginnings to the early 1950s, was particularly useful in writing the Introduction and Chapter I.

2. _____, (draft chapter), "Administrative History of Ellis Island, 1954-1982," by Harlan Unrau, 1982.

C. Press Releases

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, Press Releases, 1952 to 1982.

Copies of these can be found in "Press Release" Files on Liberty Island in the Administration Building, Storage Area, Curator's Files, and in the "Duplicates File."

III. Newspapers

Clippings of many news articles are contained in the NPS records on Liberty Island. In cases where no copy was found in NPS files, the author read the article in the newspapers collections of the New York Public Library. Newpapers from which material for this history was taken include:

Baltimore, Sun; Bergen (N.J.), Record; Boston, Hellenic Chronicle; Chicago, Austinite; Galesburg, Daily Register- Mail; Hoo Sharor (newsletter, Armenian General Benevolent Union); Jersey Journal; Long Island, Newsday; Press; Star-Journal; Newark, Evening News; Star-Ledger; New York, Daily News; Herald Tribune; Journal-American; Post; New York Times; New York, World; World-Telegram; World-Telegram and Sun; Philadelphia, Inquirer; The Evening Bulletin; Polish-American; Polish-American Journal; Seattle, Post-Intelligencer; Staten Island, Advance; St. Louis, Globe Democrat; The Downtown Herald; The Kansas City Star; Wall Street Journal; Washington, Post.

IV. Other Works

A. Robert A. Caro, The Power Broker (New York, 1974). Caro describes the fight to save Castle Clinton, which led to the idea of creating a museum of immigration.

B. Thomas Pitkin, Keepers of the Gate (New York, 1975). This work contains much useful information about the administration of Ellis Island before and for a short while after the NPS took possession of it.

C. Jeannie Mandelker, "The Restoration of Ellis Island" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1976). A copy is in "EI--Feasibility Study File," Drawer 2, Administration Building, Liberty Island.

V. Oral and written interviews. All interviews were conducted by the author or William Zeisel of The Institute for Research in History. The written comments were made in answer to the author's questions or as comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this history. The oral interviews were held in person or by telephone, with the person interviewed responding to the author's questions.

A. NPS

1. Marilyn Keeler, administrative officer, STLI NM, Spring, 1983.

2. David L. Moffitt, superintendent, STLI NM, December 3, 1982, Spring, 1983.

3. Paul O. Weinbaum, former curator, AMI, STLI NM, September 15, 1983, December 1983, January 20, 1984, April 4, 1984, May 24, 1984.

4. Edward Kallop, Jr., former curator, AMI, STLI NM, January 6, 1983, September 7, 1983, April 4, 1984.

5. Paul Kinney, curator, AMI, STLI NM, September 27, 1983.

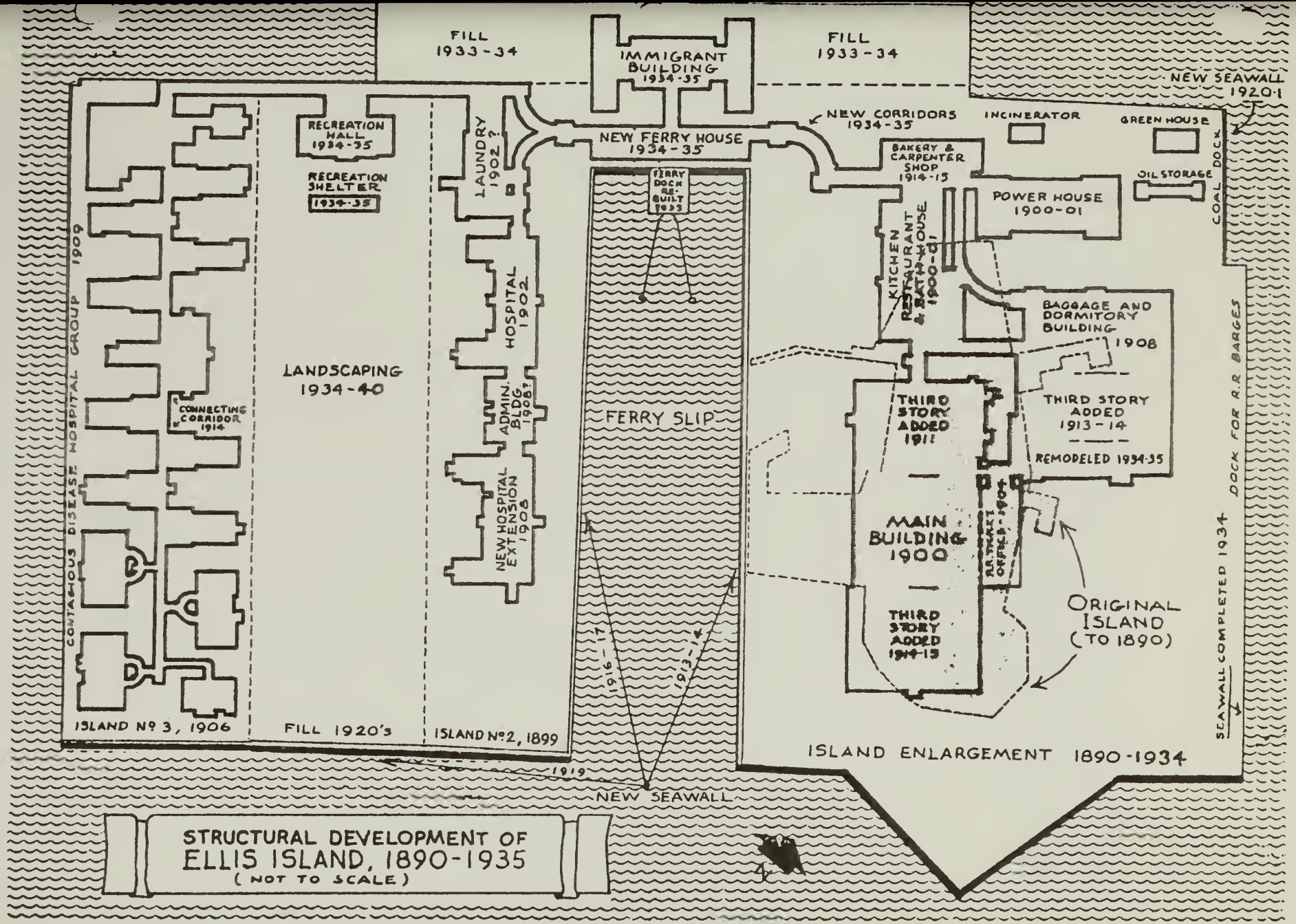
B. AMI, Inc.

1. Alfred H. Horowitz, chairman, Executive Committee, AMI, Inc., September 7, 1983.

FIGURES

Fig. 1

Historic Base Map of Ellis Island, 1968. Source: Ellis Island Master Plan, 1968, U.S. Department of Interior, NPS.



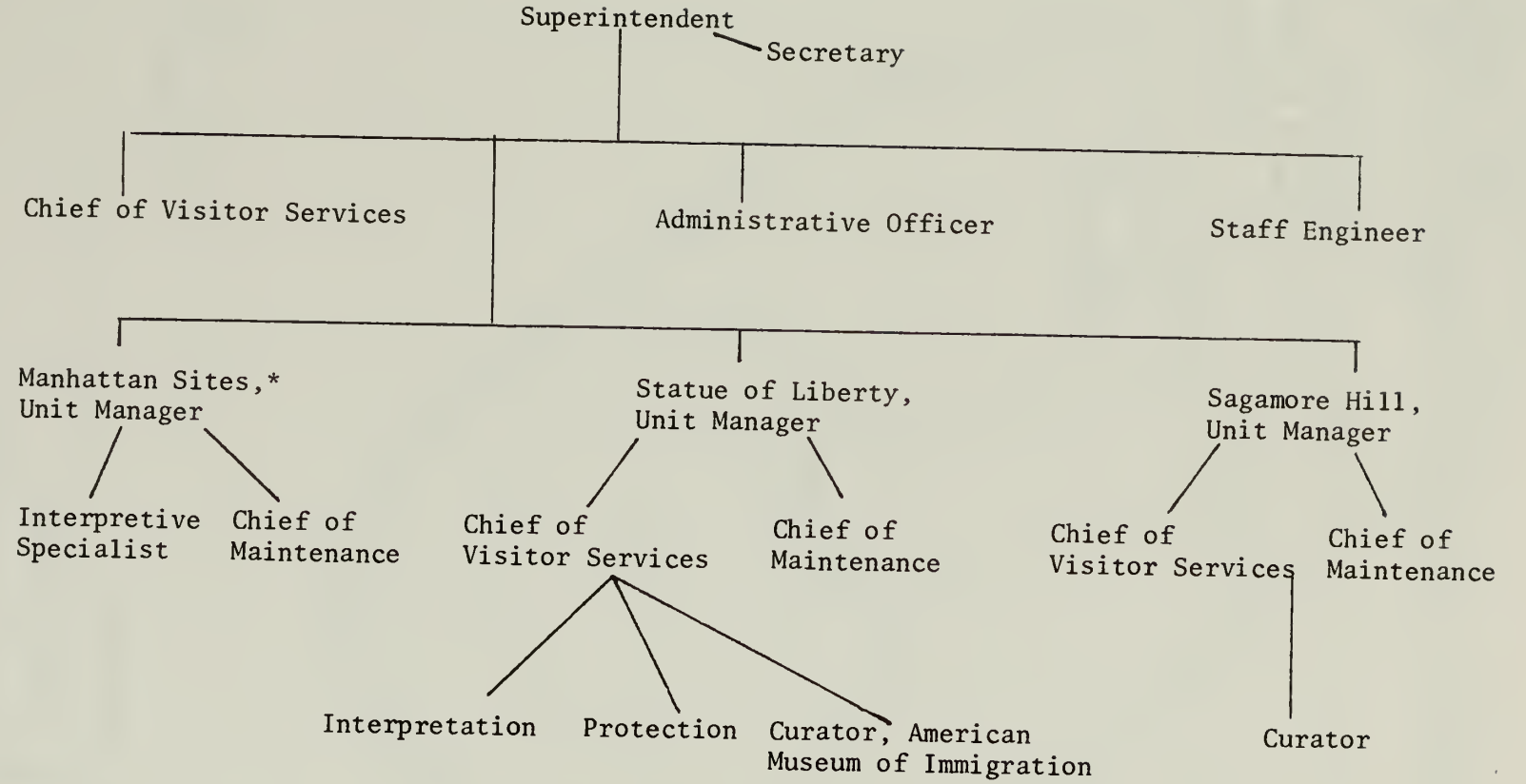
STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF
ELLIS ISLAND, 1890-1935
(NOT TO SCALE)

HISTORIC BASE MAP

MP – ELIS – 2

Fig. 2

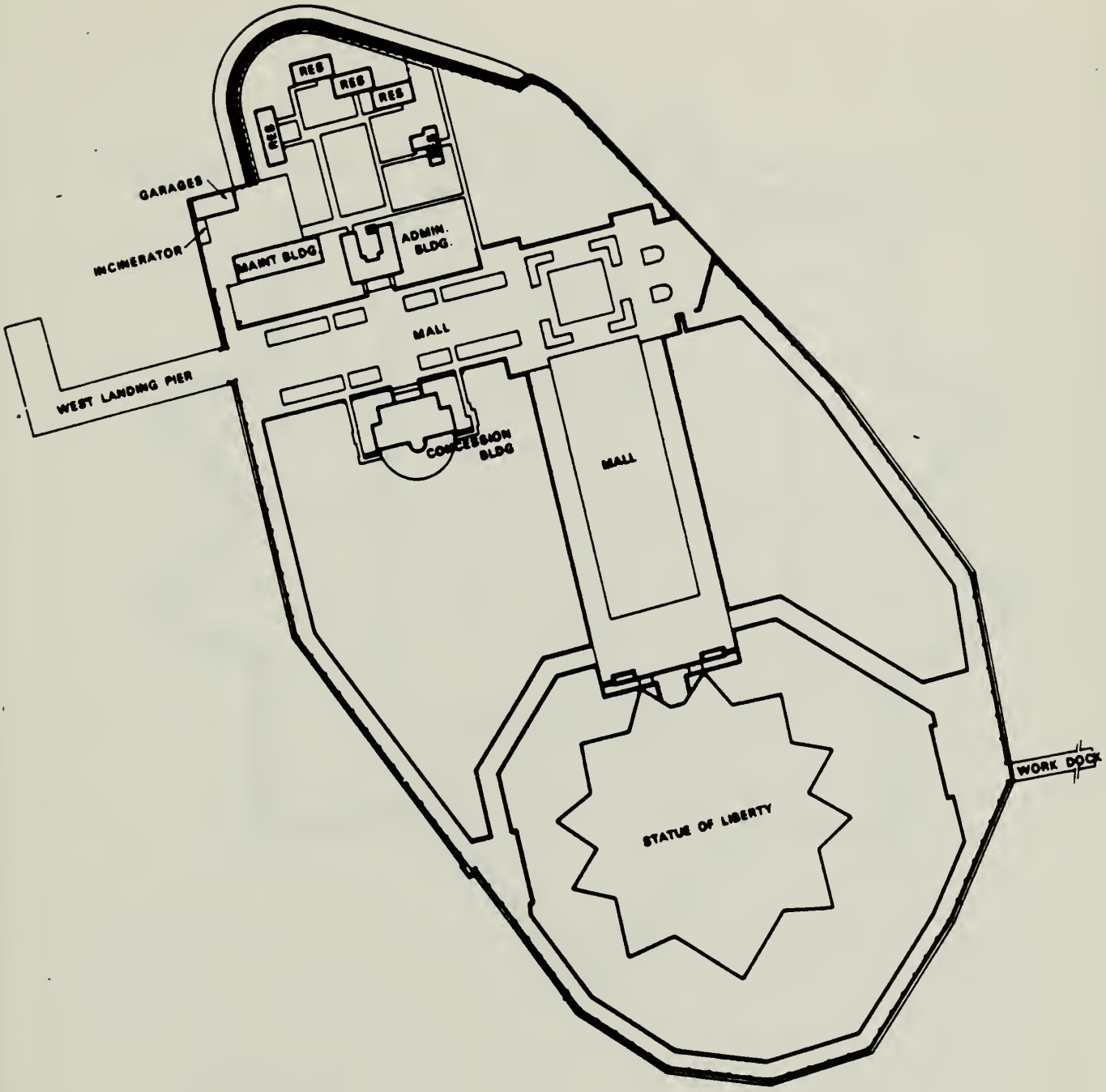
Organizational chart of the New York Group, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, July 9, 1975. Source: Memorandum, Superintendent New York Group, to Regional Director, July 9, 1975, Federal Hall (New York City Group) File, Drawer D-N, AMI Curator's Files.



*Castle Clinton, Federal Hall, Hamilton Grange, General Grant Memorial, Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace Home

Fig. 3

Liberty Island in the late 1970s. Source: Analysis of Alternatives for the General Management Plan, December 1980, STLI NM, New York, New Jersey.



EXISTING CONDITIONS

LIBERTY ISLAND

STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT

NEW YORK / NEW JERSEY

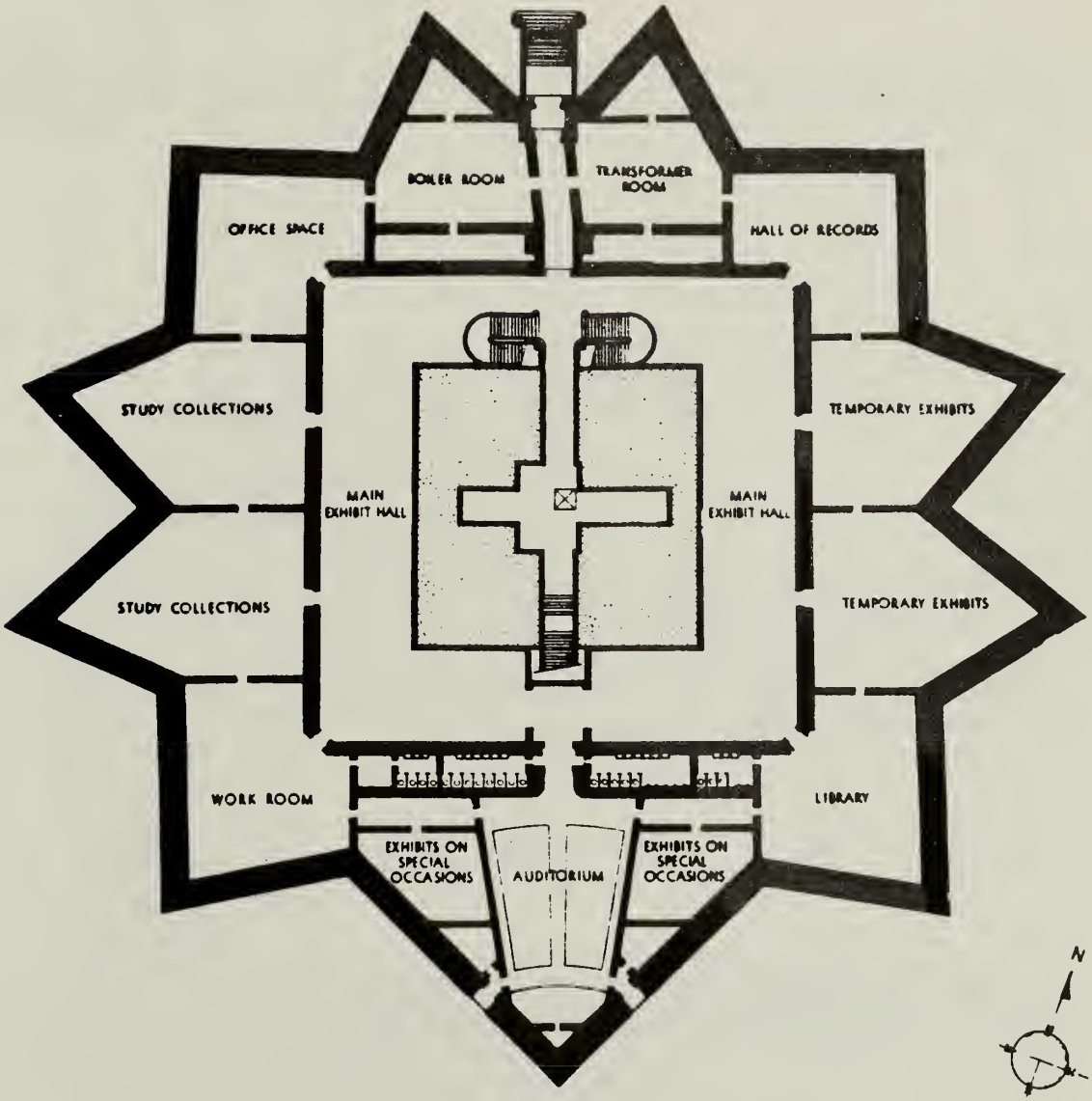
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

388 | 20,018

MARCH 801 DSC

Fig. 4

Proposed Museum Floor Plan. Source: Prospectus for The American Museum of Immigration, 1955.

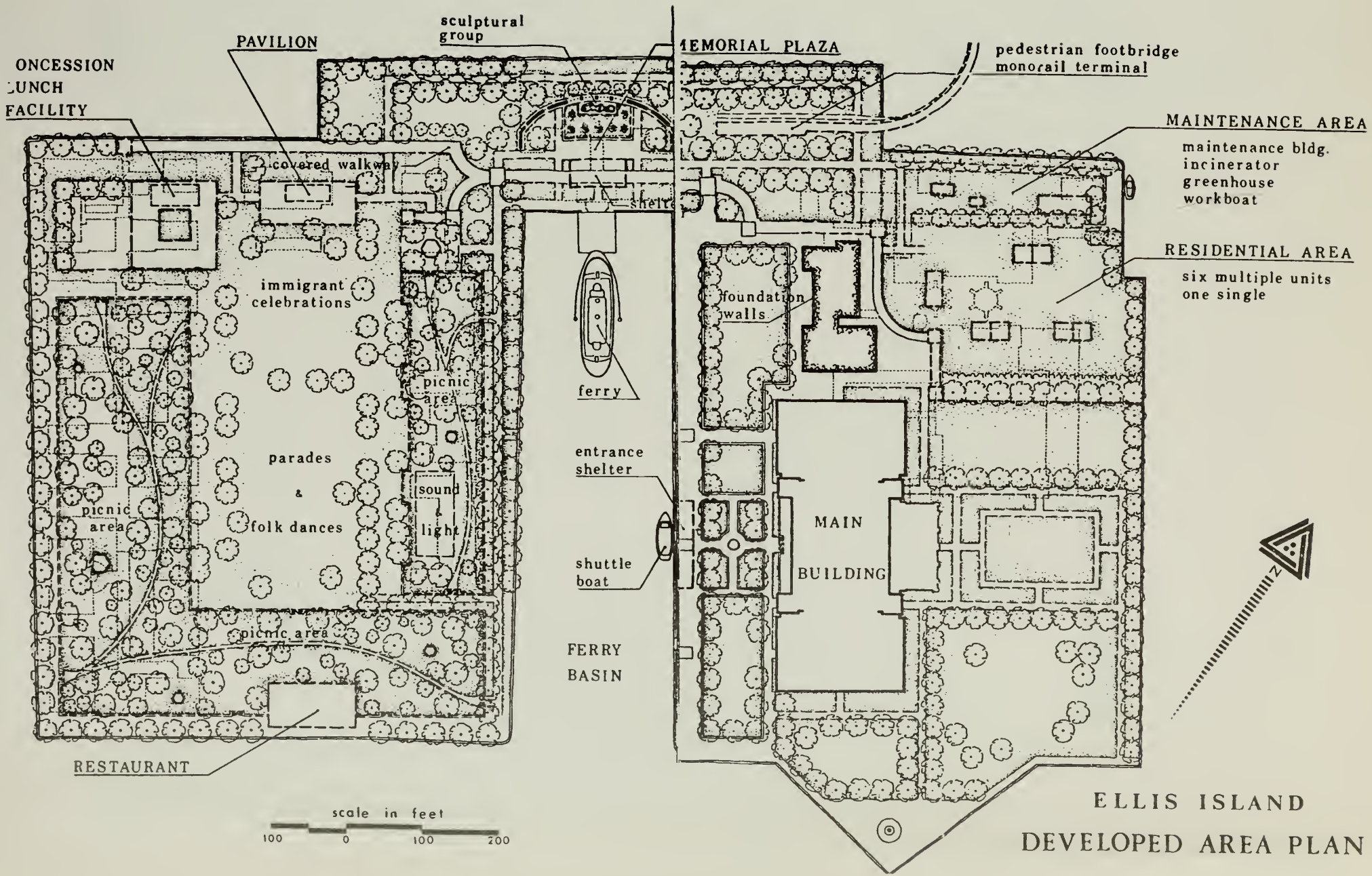


THE PROPOSED
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF IMMIGRATION

STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT

Fig. 5

Proposed development plan for Ellis Island, 1968. Source: Ellis Island Master Plan, U.S. Department of Interior, NPS.

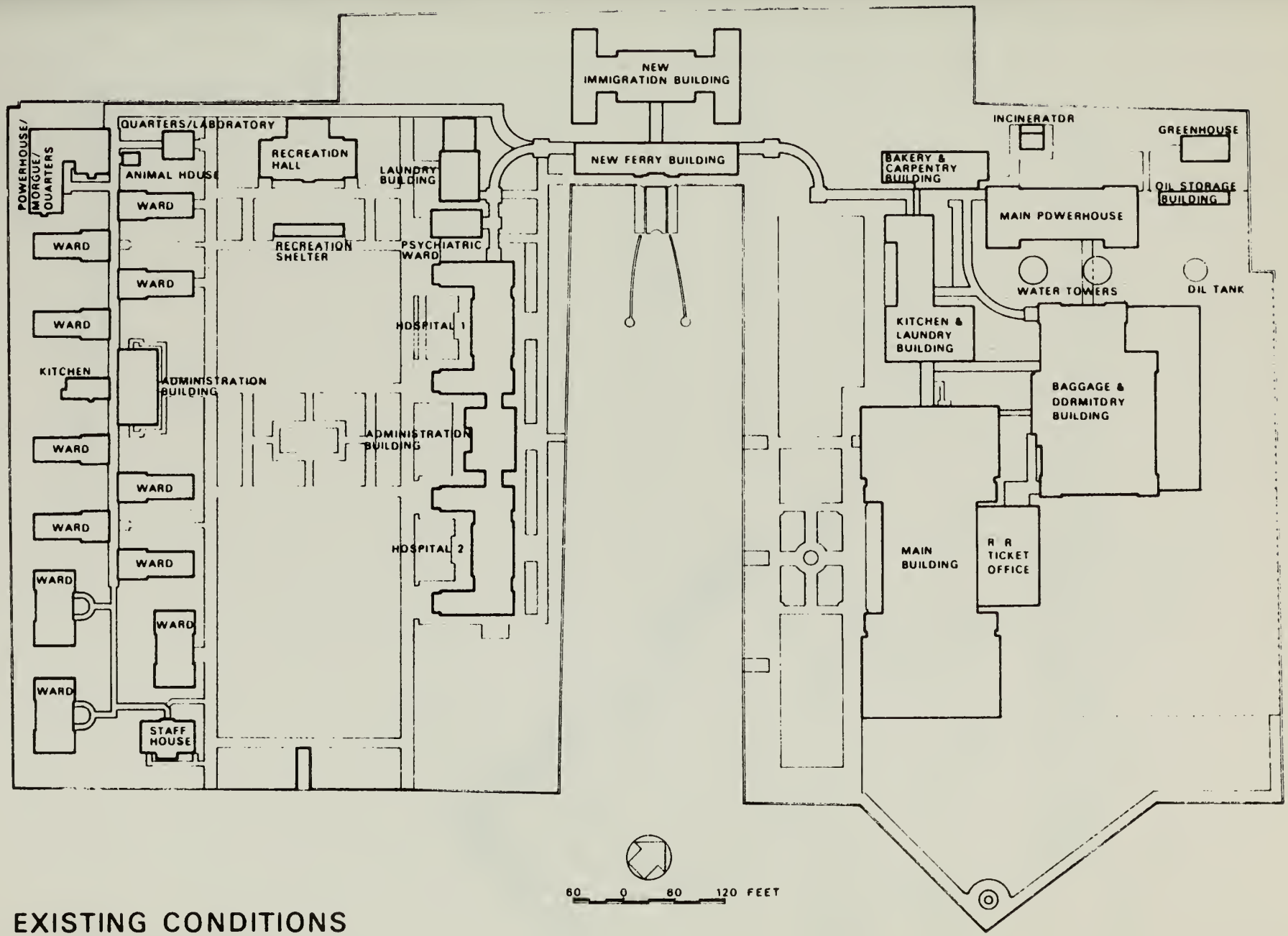


ELLIS ISLAND
DEVELOPED AREA PLAN

MP-ELIS-5

Fig. 6

Ellis Island in 1979-1980. Source: Analysis of Alternatives for the General Management Plan, December 1980, STLI NM, New York, New Jersey.



EXISTING CONDITIONS

ELLIS ISLAND

STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT

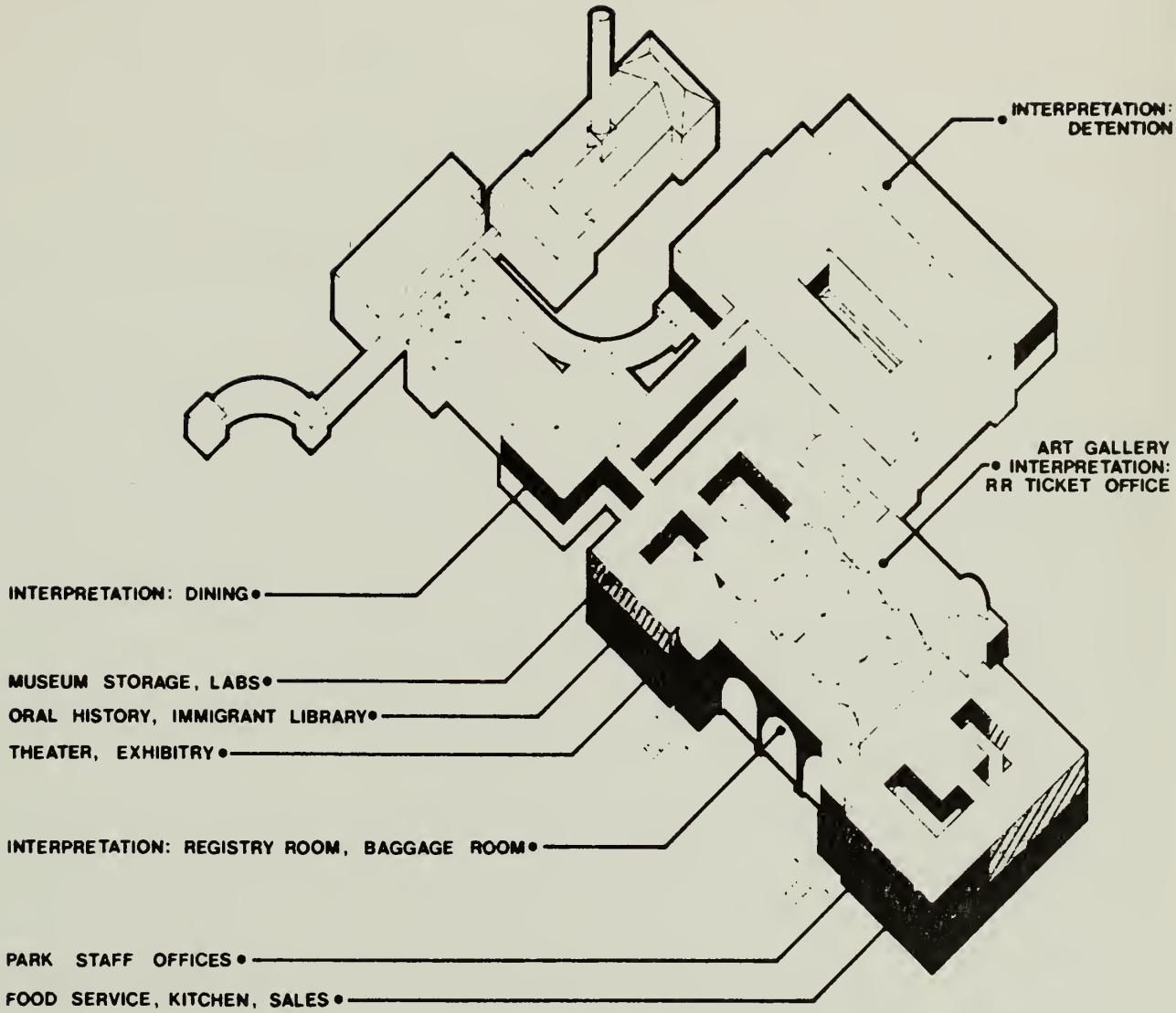
NEW YORK / NEW JERSEY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

366 | 20,017
MARCH 80 | DSC

Fig. 7

Suggested use of buildings on Island One, Ellis Island. Source: General Management Plan, September 1982, STLI NM, New York, New Jersey.



PLAN 1

VISITOR USE

ADMINISTRATION

ELLIS ISLAND UNIT ONE
STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT

336-20038

AXONOMETRIC

ILLUSTRATIONS

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton (center), chairman of the New York City National Shrines Advisory Board; Alexander Hamilton (right) and Secretary of the NYC National Shrines Advisory Board L. Porter Moore (left). They gathered at Liberty Island to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty and start of Operation Unity, the public fund-raising campaign for the American Museum of Immigration, October 28, 1956. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

A high-school group from North Carolina making a donation to help build the American Museum of Immigration. The gift was accepted by Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin, supervisory historian, Statue of Liberty National Monument (right), October 1956. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

LIBERTY ISLAND
"Whereas the Statue of Liberty stands eternal as the symbol of the freedom which has been made a living reality in the United States
Whereas it is fitting and proper that the Statue of Liberty with The American Museum of Immigration at its foot, be accorded a setting most appropriate for the great shrine of the American people. Now therefore, be it
"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Bedloe's Island, which is located in New York Harbor, shall hereafter be known as Liberty Island."
FROM THE JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE 84th CONGRESS
signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, August 3, 1956
Presented by the Downtown Manhattan Association on October 28, 1956
the 70th anniversary of the Statue's unveiling.

The Acme Excavation Corporation removed the landfill between the walls of Fort Wood and the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty to prepare for the construction of the American Museum of Immigration, November-December 1961. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

President Lyndon B. Johnson, accompanied by Lady Bird Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Mrs. Humphrey, visited Liberty Island to sign the 1965 Immigration Bill, October 3, 1965. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson opening the interim exhibits of the American Museum of Immigration on Liberty Island, May 17, 1968. New York City NPS Group Superintendent Henry G. Schmidt (right) assisting her. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War leaving the Statue of Liberty, which they had occupied for two days. The demonstrators emerged in response to a court order, December 28, 1971. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

VIETNAM VETERANS
AGAINST THE WAR

President Richard M. Nixon arrived on Liberty Island September 26, 1972, to dedicate the American Museum of Immigration. He was joined by Mrs. Nixon and New York children invited to the opening ceremonies, in costumes showing their families' ethnic origins. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Richard Di Castro (left), vice president of Luis Electrical Corporation, a contractor for the Crouse-Hinds Company, and Alfred V. Colabella (right), consultant to the NPS and project supervisor of the relighting of the Statue of Liberty, inspecting new lighting fixtures at the base of the statue, July 1976. The new lighting was a gift of the Crouse-Hinds Co. in honor of the nation's bicentennial. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall on an inspection tour of Ellis Island in October 1964. Afterward, Udall publicly endorsed designating Ellis Island as a national monument and joining it administratively to the Statue of Liberty National Monument. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Corridor in the hospital buildings on Ellis Island, showing the deteriorated condition of the former immigration station, July 18, 1973. Source: Photograph Collection of the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS.

Archeological Collections Management Project Series

No. 1	Archeological Collections Management at Salem Maritime National Historic Site. Alan T. Synenki and Sheila Charles, 1983.	$4.00
No. 2	Archeological Collections Management at Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey. Alan T. Synenki and Sheila Charles, 1983.	3.00
No. 3	Archeological Collections Management of the Great Island Tavern Site. Cape Cod National Seashore, Massachusetts. Alan Synenki and Sheila Charles, 1984.	3.00

Other Publications

Cultural Resources Inventory, Lowell National Historical Park and Preservation District: Report. Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott, Architects, 1980.	NTIS PB81 189169	
The Archeology of Cape Cod National Seashore. Francis P. McManamon and Christopher L. Borstel, 1982. (pamphlet 16 pp.)	1.00	